Quoting Practices in Written Journalism

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Quoting Practices in Written Journalism

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ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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Abstract

This research focused on the process of quoting in written journalism by asking 1) how journalistic interviews are recontextualised into quotations, and 2) what factors influence the outcome of this process. Mainly three types of data were exploited: recordings of authentic interviews conducted by journalists, published articles based on these interviews, and retrospective interviews with the journalists involved. The journalistic interview and the published article and its quotations were compared using the method of version analysis. Stimulated recall was then used to reconstruct the decision-making of the informant-journalists during their quoting. Finally, the findings were further analysed from the point of view of media concepts, in order to reveal the interdependencies of the everyday process of quoting and the fundamental aspects of production, such as publishers' purposes, the needs and interests of the audience, and the current journalistic culture.

The main findings were that modifications within quoting range from minor revisions to substantial alterations, both in terms of their linguistic form and situational meaning. On a larger scale, the interactive turn exchange between the journalist and the interviewee(s) is often simplified in several respects in the published article. A common means for doing so is obscuring the original involvement of the journalist. This phenomenon was labelled monologisation. Furthermore, the original journalistic interviews that are conducted specifically to gather raw material for written media items comprise much more than a plain series of questions and answers. Instead, the interaction in these interviews is often equal in terms of turn exchange and participatory roles.

The research identified nine practices that characterise the linking of interviews and quotations as intertextual chains. The primary factor governing the quoting was revealed to be the objective(s) of the emerging article rather than the demand for "directness". Furthermore, quoting was shown to be influenced by established institutional settings, which can also contradict each other. For these reasons, quoting turned out to be an internal negotiation process between aspects which originate from various fundamental conditions of media publishing and journalistic work.

The findings imply that future research and the training of journalists should treat quoting in a more holistic way. On the other hand, this research also equips readers with tools to improve their critical media literacy. Furthermore, the results bear relevance to literacy education in schools, where newspapers are commonly exploited as complementary teaching materials.

Keywords: Applied linguistics, media linguistics, print media;
version analysis, stimulated recall, media concept;
quoting, quotations, direct speech, journalistic interviews;
recontextualisation, intertextual chain, monologisation.

Tiivistelmä

Tutkimuksessa tarkasteltiin toimittajien siteerauskäytänteitä kahdesta näkökulmasta: 1) Miten toimittajat rekontekstualisoivat toimituksellisessa haastattelussa esitettyä puhetta sitaateiksi lehtijuttuihin? 2) Mitkä tekijät ohjaavat tätä prosessia ja vaikuttavat siihen? Aineistona tutkimuksessa käytettiin toimittajien tekemien toimituksellisten haastatteluiden äänitallenteita sekä näiden haastatteluiden pohjalta kirjoitettuja lehtijuttuja. Tätä aineistoparia tutkittiin versioanalyysillä. Kolmannen aineistokokonaisuuden muodostivat retrospektiiviset haastattelut, joissa rekonstruoitiin informantti-toimittajien siteerausprosessin kulkua stimuloidulla mieleenpalauttamisella. Lisäksi mediakonseptin käsitteen avulla kuvattiin lähemmin sitä, miten journalistinen siteeraus heijastelee lehdenteon perustavanlaatuisia ehtoja kuten julkaisijan tavoitteita, yleisön tarpeita ja kiinnostuksen kohteita sekä vallitsevaa journalistista kulttuuria.

Tutkimuksen mukaan se, missä määrin alkuperäisen puheen kieliasua ja myös tilanteista merkitystä muokataan ja muutetaan siteerattaessa, vaihtelee paitsi eri juttujen välillä, myös saman jutun sitaattien kesken ja yksittäisen sitaatin sisällä. Haastattelun ja lehtijutun tarkastelu laajempana kokonaisuutena puolestaan osoitti, että vaikka haastattelu rakentuu toimittajan ja haastateltavan yhteistyönä, lehtisitaateissa tämä vuorovaikutus pelkistyy. Monologisoinniksi nimeämäni pelkistysprosessi tapahtuu usein niin, että toimittajan rooli ja osuus häivytetään jutusta pois. Tutkimissani toimituksellisissa haastatteluissa, joilla tuotetaan raakamateriaalia nimenomaan lehtijuttuja varten (vrt. televisiouutishaastattelut), osallistujaroolit vaihtelevat ja ovat varsin tasavertaiset: yksioikoisen, toimittajan ohjaaman kysymys-vastaus-rakenteen sijaan keskustelu etenee molemminpuolisen aloitteellisuuden ja osallistumisen kautta.

Tutkimuksessa käsitteellistettiin yhdeksän siteerauskäytäntöä, jotka selittävät haastattelun ja sitaattien muodostamaa intertekstuaalista ketjua. Tutkimus osoitti, että ”suoruuden” sijaan nämä siteerauskäytännöt pyrkivät ensisijaisesti palvelemaan tekeillä olevan jutun tavoitteita. Nämä tavoitteet voivat puolestaan olla keskenään ristiriitaisia, ja siksi journalistinen siteeraus onkin eräänlaista sisäistä neuvottelua, jota toimittajat joutuvat käymään erilaisten, julkaisutoiminnan ja toimitustyön lähtökohdista ja ihanteista juontuvien päämäärien välillä.

Työni lopputulemana ehdotan, että siteerausta tulisi tarkastella niin tutkimuksessa kuin toimittajakoulutuksessakin kokonaisvaltaisena, lukuisista valinnoista koostuvana prosessina, jossa sitaatin tekstiasun muokkaus on vain yksi osaprosessi. Tutkimuksen tuloksia voi soveltaa medialukutaitojen kehittämisessä, esimerkiksi koulumaailmassa, jossa sanomalehtiä käytetään usein oppimateriaalina.

Avainsanat: Soveltava kielentutkimus, medialingvistiikka, printtimedia; versioanalyysi, stimuloitu mieleenpalauttaminen, mediakonsepti; siteeraus, sitaatit, suora lainaus, suora esitys, toimituksellinen haastattelu; rekontekstualisointi, intertekstuaalinen ketju, monologisointi.

Esipuhe

Tämä tutkimusprojekti on ollut minulle työ, harrastus ja intohimo. En liioittele, jos sanon edistäneeni sitä tavalla jos toisellakin lähes joka päivä.

Oman aherruksen lisäksi on erityisesti kolme seikkaa, joiden ansiosta väitöskirjani on valmistunut tässä muodossaan ja vieläpä ohjeajassa eli neljässä vuodessa. Ensinnäkin olen päässyt mukaan julkaisuprojekteihin, ja ne ovat luoneet tutkimukselleni aikataulun. Toiseksi olen työskennellyt henkilökohtaisilla apurahoilla[1], minkä myötä olen useamman kerran vuodessa selvittänyt – myös itselleni – mitä olen tekemässä ja miksi. Lisäksi olen saanut erinomaista ohjausta, mistä kiitos Ritva Laurylle, Maija Töyrylle ja Daniel Perrinille sekä erityisesti Henna Makkonen-Craigille, jonka sisältöosaaminen ja paneutuneisuus on ollut poikkeuksellista.

Tutkimukseni ei olisi tietenkään syntynyt ilman niitä avuliaita toimittajia, joiden työnjäljestä ja asiantuntemuksesta muodostui tutkimusaineistoni. Osaltaan työtä ovat edistäneet artikkelieni yhdeksän anonyymiä arvioijaa sekä humanistisen tiedekunnan määräämät esitarkastajat. Lisäksi he, jotka ovat vuosien varrella yksityiskohtaisesti kommentoineet käsikirjoituksiani, konferenssiabstraktejani ja apurahahakemuksiani, tietävät toki arvonsa, mutta muistaa pitää myös niitä, jotka muulla tavoin ovat osoittaneet kiinnostusta tutkimusaihettani kohtaan. Pienetkin arjen havainnot, kysymykset ja keskustelut ovat motivoineet tutkimustyötä enemmän kuin aavistaa saattaa. Niinpä nimeltä ketään mainitsematta – ja siten ketään unohtamatta – kiitos!

Vielä haluan kiittää isääni ja äitiäni sekä sisaruksiani kaikesta tähänastisesta, appivanhempiani erityisesti lapsiperheen arjessa avustamisesta sekä vaimoani Emiliaa, joka on oman työnsä ohella hoitanut kotia myös silloin, kun olen ollut poissaoleva, välillä fyysisestikin. Väitöskirjani on omistettu lapsillemme Matildalle ja Akselille.

Tämän tutkimuksen parissa vietetty aika on ollut – taas kerran – elämäni parasta aikaa. Juuri nyt tuntuu siltä, että suunta on yhä parempaan.

Päivärinteessä,
Helsingin Puistolassa
1. helmikuuta 2017

Lauri Haapanen

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[1] Tutkimustani ovat rahoittaneet Eino Jutikkalan rahasto, Journalistisen kulttuurin edistämissäätiö JOKES, Suomen Kulttuurirahasto sekä Viestintäalan tutkimussäätiö. Työ käynnistyi Aalto-yliopistossa toimineessa Media Concepts Research Groupissa ja Suomen Akatemian rahoittamassa FiDiPro-hankkeessa. Lisäksi olen saanut matka-apurahoja Eino Jutikkalan rahastolta, Helsingin yliopiston Kielentutkimuksen tohtoriohjelmalta, Helsingin yliopiston Kielikeskukselta sekä Suomen kielen, suomalais-ugrilaisten ja pohjoismaisten kielten ja kirjallisuuksien laitokselta.

Articles of the dissertation

Article I (preprint version)

HAAPANEN, LAURI. In press 2017. Directly from interview to quotations? Quoting practices in written journalism. In *Combining clauses and actions in social interaction*, edited by Ritva Laury, Marja Etelämäki, and Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen. Studia Fennica. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

Article II (preprint version)

HAAPANEN, LAURI. In press 2017. Rethinking quoting in written journalism: an intertextual chain from an interview into quotations. *Cahier de l'Institut de Linguistique et des Sciences du Langage*. Lausanne: Université de Lausanne.

Article III

HAAPANEN, LAURI. 2016. Haastattelupuheen rekontekstualisointi sitaateiksi lehtijuttuun [Recontextualising interview discourse into quotations for written media]. *Virittäjä* 120(2): 218–254.

Article IV

HAAPANEN, LAURI. 2016. Monologisation as a quoting practice. Obscuring the journalist's involvement in written journalism. *Journalism Practice*, published online before print July 27th. (dx.doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2016.1208057)

Overview of the research

Overview of the research

The research at hand scrutinises the process of quoting in written journalism. It is published in four original research articles referred to as Articles I–IV.

In this overview, I will first introduce the basis of the research (Chapter 1). I will then explain the research conducted to answer the research questions (Chapter 2). Finally, I will conclude by considering the implications of the findings and outlining some prospective future lines of research (Chapter 3).

1 From a real-life problem to research questions

This opening chapter begins by introducing the topic and providing the reader with a detailed breakdown for the course of the entire overview (1.1). This chapter then presents the real-life problem (1.2) on which the research questions are based (1.3). Subsequently, the research is positioned in the field of applied linguistics (1.4).

1.1 Topic of the research

The term "media" is widely seen as a generic term used to identify the technical means (e.g. print, television, radio) through which semiotic entities are communicated (for discussion, see Luginbühl 2015: 12–16; Perrin and Cotter, forthcoming 2017: Introduction). In the light of this characterisation, the concept of intertextuality becomes fundamental. Journalistic media, especially today, tell us as much about what someone has said has happened as about what has actually happened (e.g., Bell 1991: 52–53; Fishman 1980: 92; Nylund 2009: 7; Pietilä 1991: 5; Sigal 1986: 15), and thus the role of intertextuality is even more emphasised in such media.

This research focuses on written journalism and on one distinctive type of intertextuality within it, namely *direct quotations* (hereafter referred to simply as *quotations*) (Bell 1991: 61). Quotations are easily identifiable because of their formal marking: in the written media, quotations are distinguished from the surrounding text with clear visual cues, such as:

> "Like this", « Like this », or „Like this",

but the exact marking has a variety of forms in different media and in different languages (Makkonen-Craig 1999: 132–134; see also Wikipedia: Quotation mark[1]). The data of this research were collected from the Finnish media, in which the two chiefly used systems are, currently,[2] the following:

”Näin ['like this']."

– Näin.

In written journalistic articles, quotations are general and common elements, and not without reason. Quotations perform many important and essential functions in journalistic narration: they enhance the reliability, credibility and objectivity of an article and characterise the person quoted, to mention but a few (Haapanen and Perrin, forthcoming 2017: 4.2). Often these functions rest upon an idea that the readers are directly in touch with the quoted person's original discourse. In other words, the use of this marking creates the assumption that the marked section of a text is a fairly exact reproduction of what someone else has said – if not word-for-word, then at least in a meaning-for-meaning way. However, the existing research on quoting in written media, along with my own decade-long experience as a journalist, hints that the relationship between the original and the quoted discourse is by no means this simple to describe or conceptualise. This research aims to unpack, that is, reveal and analyse, these hidden complexities.

This overview is structured as follows. First, I review the main guidelines of quoting presented in journalistic guidebooks and manuals as well as in journalistic ethical codes (1.2.1). I then introduce previous research on journalistic quoting as well as studies examining journalists' own perceptions of quoting (1.2.2). A contradiction between the guidelines and the reality of quoting will lead to the identification of a relevant real-life problem, upon which the two overarching research questions are then formulated (1.3). At the end of this first chapter, I position my research in the tradition of research on media linguistics (1.4).

> **Research question 1**: How are journalistic interviews recontextualised into written quotations in journalistic articles?
> **Research question 2**: How can we explain those quoting practices that link the original interview discourse into the final quotation discourse?

[1] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quotation_mark (accessed 1/2/2017).
[2] There has still been variation in marking systems in the Finnish media for some periods of the early twentieth century (Ritva Pallaskallio, personal communication; see also Pallaskallio 2013) as one can observe from the digitised archive of the National Library of Finland (http://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi, accessed 1/2/2017).

Chapter 2 explains my three-part research design in three consecutive sections 2.1–3. Each part has particular goals and methodology but they build on each other. In Part I, I address the first research question by tracking linguistic modifications in quoting using a methodology called version analysis (2.1). Part II builds on the three findings of Part I (2.1.2–4) and addresses the second research question by tracing those quoting strategies and actual processes that journalists are conscious and aware of (2.2). In this part, I use a stimulated recall method. Finally, Part III addresses the kind of augmentation which the second research question initially set up: Building on the findings of previous parts and relating them to the notion of *media concepts*, I aimed at revealing the factors that influence the complex activity of quoting (2.3). Within each of these three sections, I also summarise the key findings of each particular part (2.1.2–4, 2.2.2, and 2.3.2) and name a particular research article, or articles, that elaborate each finding.

Chapter 3 discusses how the findings of this research contribute substantially to academia (3.1) on the one hand, and have high social relevance (3.2) on the other. Finally, looking beyond the research at hand, I point out some lines for further research (3.3).

1.2 A relevant real-life problem

Research is always triggered by something. In my case, the trigger was a real-life problem that appeared as an evident contradiction between institutional guidelines on journalistic quoting (1.2.1) and actual quoting practices described in existing research (1.2.2). In this section, I introduce a real-life problem, which will then be explored further in this research.

1.2.1 The prescriptive view on quoting: practical guidance

Given the central role quotations have in written journalism, it is surprising that most guidebooks take no stand at all as to how to transfer spoken interview discourse into written form as quotations (e.g. Lundberg 1992 and 2001; Flaherty 2009; Miettinen 1984; Clark 2006; Wray 1997; Jacobi 1991). Furthermore, when quoting practices are addressed, the usual message follows this somewhat bombastic wording of Anderson and Itule in their textbook *Contemporary news reporting*:

> Misquoting is a cardinal sin. That does not mean that quotes cannot be altered slightly to clean up grammar or to take out profanities; it means that quote marks around a sentence are somewhat sacred. They mean the words are exactly – or nearly exactly – what the person said. (Anderson and Itule 1984: 65.)

Many textbooks, manuals and stylebooks state their viewpoint in an even more puristic way, as in this excerpt from the authoritative *The Associated Press Stylebook*:

> Never alter quotations even to correct minor grammatical errors or word usage. Casual minor tongue slips may be removed by using ellipses but even that should be done with extreme caution. (Goldstein 2009: 232.)

Similar kinds of rigorous instruction can also be found, for example, in Brooks *et al.* (2002: 85–86), Adams (2001: 80–83), and *The New York Times Manual of Style and Usage* (2002: 280–281). However, some sources are more flexible in their approach. To paraphrase their views, the *form* of utterances could and should be edited and cleaned up as long as the *meaning* is held to. However, the terms *form* and *meaning* are not defined in any detail. One such view is given in Ruberg (2005), who names two different points of view as purists and realists:

> Purists will argue that you can't fix such common errors as wrong verb tense or idiom, noun-pronoun disagreement, or run-on sentences. When you get such quotes, purists believe, you should make them indirect. Realists believe you can make minor corrections that typically involve a word or two. Your goal is to quote sources, realists say, not embarrass them. Bottom line: If you change meaning when you change a word, you can't use a direct quotation. (Ibid. 122–123. See also e.g. Tarshis 1982.)

Regardless of the multitude of differing instructions, the foundation of quotations lies in the idea of a more or less verbatim reproduction of the original utterance – "by using direct quotes, you are telling readers that you are putting them directly in touch with the speaker" (Brooks *et al.* 2002: 73).[3]

As far as I know, no universally recognised or accepted rules exist to define the procedures of journalistic quoting. Nevertheless, many countries have established some type of ethical code for the self-regulation of journalism more broadly. For example, in Europe such a code exists in at least forty-six countries (*EthicNet* 2008). However, only a handful of these codes address quoting at all, and even then, these regulations are very vague. I present the two "most exhaustive" instances below:

> Citations between quotation marks shall reflect the tenor of a statement as closely as possible, and no quotation marks shall be used for passages which merely render the general sense of a statement. (Code of Ethics for the Austrian Press.)

[3] López Pan (2010) has made a similar review of quoting instructions in the Spanish media landscape. His findings are in line with mine.

> Unethical behaviour: Whenever direct quotations are made and these are inaccurate or unreasonably edited or incomplete. (Code of Journalistic Ethics, Malta.)

Since the empirical data for this research is drawn from the Finnish media, I have paid special attention to the Finnish ethical code of journalism. Unfortunately the *Journalistin ohjeet* (2014) [Guidelines for Journalists] does not provide any specific guidelines on quoting. However, a self-regulating committee for Finnish journalism practices, Julkisen sanan neuvosto [Council for Mass Media], has reviewed six cases[4] that mainly concern quoting since the year 2000. From the resolutions by the committee, one can infer their position on quoting: The linguistic form of "direct" quotations can be edited, several utterances can be merged into one quotation, and the quotations can be "written" into a scene that is different from the original one, as long as the meaning is retained.

1.2.2 The descriptive view on quoting: state of the research

A great deal of research on quoting in journalistic media exists, both in written and audio-visually broadcasted forms. Following the classification by Haapanen and Perrin (forthcoming 2017), this research examines the phenomenon of quoting from three main perspectives: First is research on the structure of quotes, for example, who quotes are attributed to, what their length is, and/or their linguistic appearance (e.g. Banda and Mawadza 2015; Ekström 2006; Hallin 1992; Makkonen-Craig 1999; Schneider 2011; Teo 2000; Van Dijk 1991; Zeh and Hopmann 2013). Second, there is also a large body of literature concerning the functions of quotes in journalistic media (e.g. Bell 1991; Caldas-Coulthard 1993; Carlson 2009; Clayman 2007; Conrad 1999; Cotter 2010; Davis 1985; Gibson and Hester 2000; Gibson and Zillmann 1998; Haapanen 2011; Makkonen-Craig 2014a; Nylund 2003b and 2006b; Perrin 2013a and 2015; Rahtu 2016; Roeh and Nir 1990; Satoh 2001; Stenvall 2011; Tuchman 1978; White 1998), which have, interestingly, "not simply revised but reversed" from the dawn of mass media quoting (De Grazia 1994: 289).[5]

[4] The cases referred to can be found at http://www.jsn.fi/ at document numbers **5719 (E)xculpatory (R)uling** (The interviewee complained that s/he had been misquoted.), **4814 ER** (The quotation was put together from two comments presented in different situations. The committee stated that "although the quoting practice does not go without criticism, the story does not contain essential mistakes".), **4239 Reprimand** (The article created an impression that the anonymous quotation was said by a different person than it really was. "The committee emphasizes the accuracy and meticulousness of quotations especially in controversial cases."), **4022 ER** (The committee evaluated if the quotation [from a literal source] was wrongly taken out of context.), **3563 ER** (The quotation was put to be said in a different situation than where it actually was said.), and **3249 ER** (While handling an alleged misquoting, the committee stated that "the quotations do not need to be verbatim even in direct quotations, but the factual content must not be changed".).

[5] As Margreta de Grazia has presented (1994: 288–289), before the 18th century "[a] single or double quotation mark, generally in the margin, was interchangeable with the pointing finger or indices: it pointed to or indicated an authoritative saying like a proverb, commonplace, or statement of consensual truth. Marginal quote ciphers indicated that a passage possessed authoritative status,

Finally, there is research that takes a look "behind the scenes" and analyses the processes of quoting. As the research at hand focuses especially on the quoting process, it falls into this third category of perspectives.

Process-oriented research on quoting has substantially increased over the last two decades. So far, however, the analysis of television news production has played the main role (e.g. Ekström 2001; Kroon Lundell and Ekström 2010; Nylund 2003a), and altogether this research has highlighted a fundamental aspect in quoting: the journalist has a key role in the process as s/he sets the agenda, steers the interaction, and elicits certain answers in the interview. Even so, most recent research has revealed even more strongly the journalist's power to influence the outcome of the audio-visual quote: nowadays there are advanced techniques for editing the filmed answer in a video editing room, where distracting pauses and expletives can be removed, and even the order of utterances can be changed with the audience left none the wiser (Kroon Lundell and Ekström 2010: 485). The most striking part of this practice might be the routine removal of the journalist's questions, which can seriously change the meaning of the interviewee's quoted answers (for recontextualisation strategies in television political news, see Ekström 2001). Moreover, the most essential and pervasive finding is that the interviews as well as the editing of the raw film material are principally guided by the journalist's preliminary idea of what the emerging story should and could look like (Clayman 1995; Nylund 2003a and 2006a). At the same time, the interviewee has only a slight chance of affecting what the finished television news item will look like regardless of what they say during the interview.

Furthermore, Kroon Lundell and Ekström (2010) have demonstrated how quotes and quoting are integrated into every major aspect of television news production, as well as in the presentation of the resulting news items. They propose that a quote – or the "interview bite", as they call it – operates on the following

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commonly derived from a classical (Aristotle, Seneca) or patristic (St. Augustine, St. Thomas) author or authority who was, in most cases, dead. By highlighting an utterance that was of potential interest and use to all readers, quotation marks facilitated the 'lifting' of the passages they marked. Renaissance readers, it can be assumed, routinely scanned the margins for quote marks in order to spot passages suitable for inscription in their own personalized common-place books. In brief, rather than cordoning off a passage as property of another, quotations marks flagged the passage as property belonging to all – 'common places' to be freely appropriated (and not necessarily verbatim and with correct authorial ascription). Not until after the seventeenth century did quotation marks serve to enclose an utterance as the exclusive material of another which could be borrowed only if accurately reproduced and ascribed." Other interesting details about the evolution of quotation marks and their connection to, e.g., the abolition of torture and the fifth amendment of the U.S Constitution are also described by de Grazia (1994), but for a thorough overview on the history of quotation marks, I recommend Ruth Finnegan's *Why Do We Quote?* (2011).

three levels. First, an interview bite is a format because it is literally used to describe short utterances drawn from interviews caught on camera. This format decides which journalistic options are possible and which are not. Second, an interview bite is a mental representation, in that the reporters envision potential interview bites and decide from this whom to approach as a potential interviewee. Third, once collected, the interview bite becomes an artefact, a concrete semiotic stretch that can be worked within the editing studio with few restrictions regarding how it is done.

In contrast to the large amount of research about television news production (though conducted by only a handful of researchers), very little is known about actual quoting practices in *written* journalism, and thus "there is a pressing need for media scholars to pay more attention to the ways in which utterances are recontextualized into and re-presented as quotes in news stories" (Nylund 2006b: 151; see also Clayman 1990: 79). As far as I know, there are only two published studies that have used relevant empirical data to examine the "directness" of quotations published in newspaper and magazine articles. Johnson Barella (2005), in examining spoken data from press conferences and speeches, discovered that only one out of five quotations drawn from these public events were absolutely verbatim. Overall, the variety of modifications to quotations in her data ranged from small to substantial. Lehrer (1989) drew her data from public meetings, hearings, and lectures and reported that quotations had often been modified substantially, although these non-verbatim quotations were rarely considered to be incompatible with what was intended (ibid. 120–121).

Additionally, Méndez García de Paredes (2000) examined multiple instances of coverage of the same news event in different newspapers without data from the actual spoken event, while Bruña (1993) focused on the changes made in the phrases that were reproduced both in the text body of the articles as well as between quotation marks in the headline. Also, Allan Bell, a journalist and researcher, analysed (1991: 81) his own work retrospectively and stated that "de-pronominalization [replacing the pronoun with a coreferential noun] is one of the few tamperings I would permit with a direct quote: otherwise it should remain verbatim what the source said". (It should be mentioned, however, that Bell "recorded" his interviews only by taking notes). Some perceptions of the veracity of quotations without empirical data, or with only limited empirical data, are also presented by Caldas-Coulthard (1993, 1994), Cotter (2010), Kuo (2007), Satoh (2001), Scollon (2004: 162), Short (1988), Tuchman (1978) and Waugh (1995).

In a few instances quoting practices have been studied in survey settings (Haapanen 2010 and 2011; Lee 2004). Basically, the fabrication of and tampering with quotes were rejected unanimously by the informant-journalists involved in these studies. However, in Haapanen's survey, the informants said that they execute certain modifications as "a basic service". This involves, firstly, removing expletives, planning devices, as well as tongue slips, almost as a rule. Secondly, spoken-language and dialectal word forms are standardised, and fragmental and incomplete sentences (in terms of standard language) are repaired, often compressed, and clarified so that they can be correctly understood within the new context. Additionally, utterances that have been expressed in different places in the course of an interview can be presented one by one or be merged into a single quotation, as long as this modification does not distort the interpretation of these recontextualised utterances (Haapanen 2010: 109). Interestingly, the informant-journalists in these brief studies allowed themselves the means of editing that more or less followed the guidance presented in the more liberal guidebooks to which I referred in the previous subsection (1.2.1).

One common challenge in journalistic work – which is unfortunately ignored in guidebooks – is an activity referred to as *translingual quoting*.[6] In translingual quoting, the original discourse on which the quotation is based is translated during the process of quoting. In these cases, journalists either translate ready-made articles and their quotations from the language X into language Z, or they make quotations in language Z from interviews they themselves conducted in language X. As has been shown (Haapanen 2010 and 2011), translingual quoting often faces similar types of challenges as translating in general, and on this basis, one can question the idea of direct quoting in general: can we speak of directness if words that semantically correspond to each other have totally different visual and phonetic forms. Finally, it is interesting that the informant-journalists had no problem with the idea of using foreign language (here mainly English) interview material as a source for direct quotations written in their native language (here mainly Finnish).

1.3 Research questions and key concepts

As journalistic guidebooks and manuals generally present (1.2.1), a text segment that is visually marked as a quotation claims to render what someone else than

[6] I coined this term in my presentation *"Translingual quoting" in written journalism* given at the 14th International Pragmatics Conference held in Antwerp, Belgium, in July 2015.

the journalist has said in a word-for-word or at least meaning-for-meaning way. Since this selected stretch of discourse is extracted from its original context, which is usually a journalistic interview or a press conference (sometimes also a press release, see Jacobs 1999), embedded into another context, in this case a journalistic article, and demarcated as a quotation in an appropriate way, I conceptualised the process of making quotes as *recontextualisation*.

In this research, I follow Per Linell's definition of recontextualisation, as the "dynamic transfer-and-transformation" of some part or aspect from one discourse to another (Linell 1998a: 154. See also Linell 1998b). The transferred elements may be, for instance, specific lexical items, arguments, narratives, values, conceptions, and/or ideologies. An interesting issue for research is the fact that through recontextualisation, the quoted discourse is subject to various changes (1998a: 155). My goal here is to explore the relationship between the original spoken and the final written discourse by asking: **How are journalistic interviews recontextualised into written quotations in journalistic articles?** This research question is discussed in Articles I, III and IV.

The Linellian notion of recontextualisation is especially useful for the study of journalistic quoting because it emphasises the significance and the separation of the contexts. Hence, the analysis can be focused on those changes that take place in the linguistic form and situated meaning of the recontextualised discourse. In journalistic texts this separateness can be seen very concretely, as the quoted discourse is both marked (by quotation marks) and attributed (by the reporting clause) to a prior occasion of language use, often a journalistic interview. In other words, quotations are explicitly marked as having been drawn from another context.

Furthermore, Linell suggests (1998a: 154–155) that the process of recontextualisation consists of three consecutive sub-processes: the discourse that is selected to be recontextualised is first extracted, then re-positioned, and finally modified to fit the context. I have exploited and elaborated this three-part structure in the design of my research framework, and have named the sub-processes *decontextualisation*, *contextualisation*, and *textualisation*.

Within the recontextualisation of utterances from interview to news item quotations, the quoted discourse is subject to various changes. Regardless of heterogeneity, there is reason to assume that these changes perform and renew some common pattern – otherwise there might be severe interruptions in the performance of a journalist's daily tasks.

To formulate the other research question of this study, I conceptualised the institutionalised transformation from interviews to articles as an *intertextual chain*, a term coined and defined by Norman Fairclough (1992[7]; see also Fairclough 1995). During this “chaining”, a particular type of text is transformed into another type of text “in regular and predictable ways” (ibid. 130). Fairclough exemplifies this procedure by referring to the chain which links press releases with news items, or medical consultations with medical records. In this research, my goal is to trace the regular and predictable ways that guide the process of formulating quotations in written journalism by asking: **How can we explain those quoting practices that link the original interview discourse into the final quotation discourse?** This research question is discussed in Articles I and II.

Throughout this research I mainly refer to the above-described process of the “chaining” of journalistic interview discourse to quotations as *quoting practice* or *process*. However, sometimes the concept of *quoting strategies* would also be usable, and even more precise: Practices are *situated activities* that actualise the strategies, which are *articulable ideas of how decisions are to be made so that the quoting process or quotations fulfils its intended function* (Perrin 2013a: 55). My data consist of documentations of actual quoting processes, i.e. practices, but when I abstract some generalisations from these practices, this analysis generates a repertoire of potential activities available when quoting, i.e. strategies.

In addition to quoting strategies and practices as their situated actualisation, this research also examines the established institutional settings and aspects that influence and govern these practices and automates them into routines and procedures. Procedures in this context are institutionalised routines that journalists perform unconsciously as members of a social group, such as an editorial team (Perrin 2013a: 55).

1.4 Positioning the research in applied linguistics

Linguistics is a scientific discipline that deals with language as a human capacity, with natural languages, and with language use. Like other disciplines, linguistics has also developed applied variants, which deal with problems from practice and base their treatment of these problems on theory. To put it simply, applied linguistics is essentially a problem-driven discipline rather than a theory-driven one. Furthermore, applied linguistics develops subdisciplines related to domains

[7] Later, Fairclough (2003: 31) has also referred to a similar kind of process by using the notion of *genre chain*.

and sites of language use whose usage is socially significant (e.g. Knapp 2013; McCarthy 2001; Perrin 2013a: 26–27). In this section, the research at hand is positioned as media linguistics (1.4.1) and further within its emerging subfield as the linguistics of news writing (1.4.2).

1.4.1 Media linguistics

Journalistic media are a socially important area of activity whose language use can differ from language use in other areas (Perrin 2013a: 29). This research focuses on quoting in journalistic media and falls under media linguistics, that is, a subdiscipline of applied linguistics specifically focusing on (journalistic) media (see, e.g., Perrin 2013a and 2013b).

Despite the fact that journalistic media have been scrutinised from various disciplinary points of view (e.g. Töyry, Saarenmaa, and Särkkä 2011), research has often held a product-bound perspective – or even examined media discourse as an easily accessible everyday language (Cotter 2010: 4; Media Linguistics Research Network 2016; NewsTalk&Text Research Group 2011: 1843–1844). It is therefore not surprising that the main focus of media linguistics has so far been on the use of language in journalistic products (e.g. Luginbühl 2015). It has been recognised, however, that the problem of product-focused approaches is that they "fall short of explaining newswriting" (Perrin 2013: 56) and are also "bound to generate weak hypotheses" (NewsTalk&Text Research Group 2011: 5–6).

Recent tendencies, however, expand the focus of media linguistics into different dimensions (Luginbühl 2015: 16–20). Spurred by technological development, media linguistics has taken multimodality into account to a broader extent than merely relating texts and images to each other, and has focused on the cultural dimension of media texts, i.e. researchers have considered the linguistic form of communication as constitutive of certain aspects, such as values and norms, of the cultural negotiation process. At the same time, as Luginbühl raised in his overview of recent developments within media linguistics, there has been increasing interest in covering the whole communicative process of production, product and reception, although this approach is still a "desideratum" (ibid. 19. See also Cotter 2010: 4; Perrin 2013a: xi). My research contributes to this recent development as it explores the production processes of quotations; I aim to find out what journalists want to do and what they actually do when quoting, and why they do it.

1.4.2 The linguistics of newswriting

As my research investigates the linguistically-based practices of professional media production, it can be counted among a narrower area within media linguistics, referred to as the linguistics of newswriting. Within this emerging sub-field of media linguistics, studies have addressed, for example, the journalist's role in the representation of the source material (Van Hout and Macgilchrist 2010), transition sentences, such as the *dialogical passive*, leading the reader from one paragraph to another (Makkonen-Craig 2005 and 2011), sub-editing in newswriting (Vandendaele, Cuypere, and Van Praet 2015), intrapersonal argumentation about linguistic choices in newswriting processes (Zampa and Perrin 2016), as well as multimodal writing in newsrooms (Perrin 2015).

All of these pieces of research share an empirical and (at least partly) ethnographic research approach, but they do not have any general shared theoretical foundation nor a fixed methodology. Instead, as an interdisciplinary discipline, medialinguistic research exploits different kinds of linguistic methods as well as methods and theoretical approaches of neighbouring disciplines, such as social sciences and writing research, to answer its research questions. Thus, my research utilises, for example, a method of version analysis, which bases its comparison on the premises and research results of Fennistic interactional linguistics, discourse studies, as well as lexicology and the study of grammar (see Articles I, III, IV).[8] My research also applies the method of stimulated recall (see, especially, Article II), often used in social sciences, and relates the stimulated recall findings to the notion of media concepts (see Articles I), which derives from developmental work research and is then re-formulated for the use of journalism studies.

To fit this research within the framework of the linguistics of newswriting, two clarifications must be made. The first pertains to the initial part of the compound, i.e. *news*. Although news journalism has attracted the main focus of research on quotes and quoting so far (Haapanen and Perrin, forthcoming 2017), it is only one genre of output within journalism more broadly. In this research, I have not restricted my scrutiny to news articles and newspapers. I have, for example, also included

[8] Makkonen-Craig (2014b) provides an overview of one branch of Finnish discourse studies, tentatively labelled as dialogically-oriented linguistic discourse analyses. Within this research tradition or orientation, she distinguishes five lines of research and positions the research at hand within the fifth, in which "researchers have investigated the writers' own conceptualizations and their dialogical orientations to writing and to their readers, and explored the different circumstances and constraints that writers face in writing situations" (ibid. 124). Furthermore, this research orientation is characterised by 1) its interest in linguistic resources and dialogical phenomena primarily in written discourse, and 2) its operation within a dialogistic framework (ibid. 121).

profiles, fact-based articles, and other kinds of prototypical[9] journalistic outputs, although the boundaries between different genres of journalistic articles are blurry and rarely defined (for an exhaustive categorisation of news articles, see Vandendaele *et al.* 2015).

While there are no research results which indicate that the exact format of a target article would play a crucial role in the invocation of some particular way of quoting, there is also no proven correlation between quoting practices and various media genres such as national or regional newspapers, various magazines or bulletins. Therefore, I consider the expansion of the scope necessary, and see research on the quoting process to be a way of challenging the hegemony of current research on news. I assume that the emphasis on news media has to do with the fact that news journalism has high societal relevance – the press being referred to as the Fourth Estate (Schultz 1998). However, the "softer" forms of journalism are equally relevant, and I argue that these softer forms affect the status quo more tacitly, and thus more treacherously, than breaking news. In other words, magazines and such publications shape our understanding of society even if we do not always realise it. As Tammi (2016) has shown in her research on readers' engagement with magazines, such an engagement has intertwined with everyday life and its routines, perceptions and values. Tammi's recent findings support the opinion offered by Lowenthal (1944) over 70 years ago: If you want to get an impression of some (specific) time period, you should begin by reading magazines written at the time in question. Thus, in addition to newspapers I include in my research data magazines, business-to-consumer-magazines, and bulletins in order to provide a more balanced view of prevalent quoting practices.

The second clarification concerns the latter part of the compound *newswriting*. A narrow understanding of *writing* may cover only the process of inscription. In the broader sense that is adopted in this research as well as in the papers mentioned above, "writing" also encompasses various professional practices preceding the concrete process of inscription, for example, negotiating the subject matter and the extent of its coverage, searching for background information, planning and performing interviews, as well as analysing the raw material collected from the interview (Perrin 2013a: 31. See also Bazerman and Prior 2004; Candlin and Hyland 1999; Jakobs and Perrin 2014; MacArthur, Graham, and Fitzgerald 2005).

[9] By the term "prototypical", I justify the exclusion of more peripheral text-based genres, such as opinion columns and letters to the editor.

My research thus both builds on and contributes to existing research in media linguistics. From the former point of view, it is previous research that has confirmed the real-life problem under scrutiny and has offered a broad methodological route for handling it. From the latter point of view, my work broadens the knowledge regarding quotes as products and quoting as practices, specifically in written journalism, by explaining the multi-layered and multi-dimensional contexts which affect and are affected by the daily routines of quoting.

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2 Three-part research design and main results

The research that has been designed to answer the research questions formulated and justified in Chapter 1, can be divided into three (2.1–3). Each of the parts explains the path from the data collection through analysis to the key findings (2.1.1, 2.2.1, and 2.3.1). The findings, affording both immediate answers to the research questions and some follow-up interests which emerged during the research process, are then elaborated in their own subsections (2.1.2–4, 2.2.2, and 2.3.2). At the end of each of these subsections, readers are provided with directions to a research article, or articles, that address each specific finding.

2.1 PART I. Linguistic modifications in quoting

During the first part of this research, I examined the quoting process, beginning with an oral interview and resulting in the final, published article with one or more direct quotations. To track these linked linguistic modifications, I needed the data to consist of (at least) the original and final discourse of this recontextualisation process. In the subsection that follows, I describe my data collection process and the appropriate method I selected in the analysis of the data.

2.1.1 Research design

To begin with, as there were no research results indicating that a specific article type (e.g. news, profiles, fact-focused articles), publication (some particular title), or media genre (e.g. national/regional newspapers, women's magazines, bulletins) would be the decisive factor in the making of quotations, I considered **the journalistic interview** to be an appropriate starting point for my data collection. First of all, a journalistic interview is clearly one conventionalised premise for information gathering in journalistic work (Ekström 2006: 23). Basically, a journalistic interview is an oral interview conducted in person or via phone or video calling – sometimes also via email[10] – and it is performed in a somewhat conventionalised way. It has a mainly fixed structure consisting of salutations, an actual interview conversation, and the closing of the meeting. In terms of participatory roles, a journalist organises the interview situation and introduces themes and presents questions, while an interviewee, or interviewees, in turn, answer and comment on them. Moreover, despite the variations in execution of journalistic interviews, they have an explicit purpose – most obviously, to gather information for an article.[11]

My initial task was to select and contact prospective informant-journalists and solicit their participation. The key feature of the selection of my informant-journalists was that they regard themselves as professional journalists and were employees or freelancers for established media that published their content in Finnish. Additionally, I aimed for a diverse set of journalists in terms of gender, age and the type of publication they work for.

There were two methods of identification: The names of most of the journalists that I contacted were initially taken from the list of staff writers included in various publications. With the others, I took advantage of my professional networks created during my years as a journalist; these prospective informant-journalists I either knew in advance, or some journalist-colleague of mine knew them and provided me with their contact information. Only six of the journalists I contacted refused to participate in my research, and they justified their refusal by referring to their workload and time resources, the intimacy of the interviews, and the fact that they have participated "so often in such researches". This relatively fortunate result (cf. Bell and Garrett 1998: 19) might have been because I did not disclose the exact objective of my research when contacting the prospective informant-journalists, but I did emphasise to them that I am describing, not reviewing or evaluating, their work performance.

After the selection of the informant-journalists, I asked them to record one or two of their **journalistic interviews (= data set 1)** for my research, or if they had recently conducted and recorded a suitable interview, to give me a copy. In

[10] In the journalistic field, there is constant discussion about the pros and cons of email interviews, or whether such a method is acceptable at all (e.g. Lisheron 2013; Tenore 2012). In my opinion as a journalist, in certain circumstances (e.g. when you are merely searching for factual information) an email interview could be an appropriate and practical choice. As far as I know, there is no statistics regarding the use of various methods in interviewing.

[11] In this research, journalistic interviews are considered *tools* to gather information, while elsewhere (e.g. Velthuis 2016) journalistic interviews are seen to be more like *article genres* that are made in order to be published as such.

this way I received 17 recordings from 13 different journalists. I also recorded 3 press conferences for my data, because they are – besides one-on-one interviews – the other common way of collecting data for articles (Clayman 1993; Eriksson and Östman 2013). One advantage of this decision is that this makes my research more comparable to existing studies on quoting in written journalism, since they also contain examples and discussion of press conferences (Johnson Barella 2005; Lehrer 1989).

The length of these recordings varied considerably, ranging from 1 minute and 48 seconds to 1 hour and 45 minutes. It is worth mentioning that a video recording would likely have provided valuable instances of nonverbal communication within the interview. However, videotaping might have undesirably influenced the interview by distracting both the interviewer and the respondent, and was therefore not included in my data collection. An audio recording, in contrast, worked better, as it is a commonly used procedure in the field of journalism.

From some of the journalists who took notes by hand during the interview (and made audio-recordings only for my research purposes), I also asked permission to copy their notebooks. In this way I received photocopied hand-written notes of 5 interviews. In addition, I asked to have the transcription document from a few of the journalists whose regular work practice comprises audio recordings and their transcriptions. However, I only thought of the advantage of such data after my proper data collection had ended, and therefore only succeeded in collecting 3 (partly imperfect) transcriptions. As such, these data have not been much exploited in this research, but remains noteworthy for future use. I refer to these above-described texts as **transitional text documents (= data set 2)**, because they are made to facilitate the conversion of the original interview discourse into the target article text.

After collecting the interview recordings and transitional text documents, I collected **the published articles (= data set 3)** that were written based on these interviews. The articles were published in newspapers, magazines, business-to-consumer-magazines/bulletins, and online-publications. Since I included two articles (from different journalists) written about the same press conference in my data, there are in total 21 published articles in my data set. In addition, one of the articles comprises two different versions, one for print and one for the website of the publication. The articles were collected in their original layout, so the possible influence of layout and certain visual elements could also be taken into account in the analysis.

All of the data were collected in Finland during 2012–2014. After collection, the data were transformed into analysable form by means of the following process. First, a rough transcript of each recording was prepared. Then, those passages that the quotations in the published articles were based on were transcribed in detail. Originally, all of the interviews were conducted and the articles published in Finnish. For this overview as well as for those articles published in English, I have translated the data examples into English.

In Table 1 (see next page), I summarise the data collection for the tracking of linguistic modifications during the recontextualisation process. I also demonstrate the data using an example referred to as "Painting with oils" (This example is not exploited in any of my four research articles). In this example, the journalist provided me with a digital recording of an interview with an artist who paints sea motifs. Based on the 19-minute-long interview, the informant-journalist wrote an approximately 2 300-character-long article for the culture section of a newspaper. The article contains five quotations, and in Table 1 I focus on one of them. This journalist took notes for herself on a thin notepad – the recording was made and used only for my research purposes – and this notepad is also accessible below, in addition to the interview and article texts.

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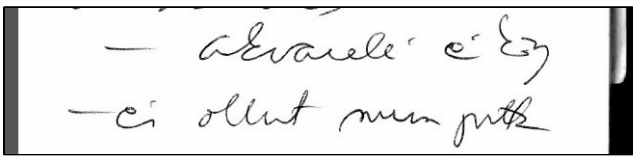
Table 1. *Data collection for the tracking of linguistic modifications.*

Recordings, transitional texts and published journalistic articles		
Description	**Content in total**	**Example “Painting with oils”**
Recordings of oral journalistic interviews	20 recordings • 17 one-to-one interviews • 3 press conferences	Example in English (translation) JO = Journalist IN = Interviewee JO: **you paint with oil colours** IN: **yes** JO: **wouldn't it be easier to depict such maritime motifs with, for example, watercolours** IN: **no** JO: **why not** IN: **like I just said I’ll tear through the paper (.) no way no way (.) and then the thing is that (.) yeah, they just don’t suit me (.) I tried them a long long time ago but (.) it’s not my thing (.)** __________ Example in Finnish (original) JO: maalaat öljyväreillä IN: joo JO: eikö öö tällasta merellisyyttä olisi helpompi toteuttaa vaikka akvarelleilla IN: ei JO: miksei IN: niinku mä sanoin just mä meen paperin läpi (.) ei käy ei käy (.) ja sit se on se et’ tota (.) joo se ei vaan sovi mulle (.) mä oon joskus kokeillut kauan kauan sitten mut (.) se ei oo mun juttu (.)
Transitional text documents	5 sets of handwritten notes 3 transcriptions made by informant	 – akvarelli ei käy – ei ollut mun juttu __________ – **watercolours don’t work** – **was not my thing**

Published articles	21 published articles by 17 journalists. • 17 based on interviews • 4 based on press conferences (2 based on the same press conference)	Example in English (translation) **Sofia paints with oil colours. With them she conjures forth the waves, the splashes and churning power of the sea, but the paintings also have a sort of watercolour-like delicacy. She cannot imagine painting with watercolours.** **"I'm too temperamental. The paper would be torn with a single brushstroke," she laughs.** ——— Example in Finnish (original) Sofia maalaa öljyväreillä. Niillä hän loihtii esiin aallot, pärskeet ja meren vellovan voiman, mutta maalauksissa on myös akvarellimaista herkkyyttä. Akvarelleja hän ei voi kuvitella maalaavansa. "Olen liian temperamenttinen. Paperi menisi puhki yhdellä siveltimenvedolla", hän nauraa.

The overall analytical method exploited to analyse the data described above is called **version analysis** (applied in media linguistics, see Perrin 2013a: 62). As a method, version analysis is suitable for reconstructing the changes that linguistic features undergo from one textual version to another. Thus, by means of text analysis, I tracked the linguistic modifications and the changes in the structure of the interaction between the journalist and the interviewee that took place during the recontextualisation of the discourse. This process of recontextualisation occurred between the journalistic interview and the published article and its quotations. Besides answering the first research question, my analysis also brought out new knowledge regarding the nature of such journalistic interviews that are conducted in order to collect raw material for written journalistic items, and the way the original interaction is treated during the quoting process.

Below, I demonstrate the analysis and the three key findings through the example "Painting with oils". (For the sake of convenience, I repeat a part of the example.) Then I elaborate and generalise the findings in their own subsections (2.1.2–4), and at the end of each of these subsections, I list one or more of my research articles that concern the particular findings.

Ex. 1 - Published article ("Painting with oils")

Sofia paints with oil colours. With them she conjures forth the waves, the splashes and the churning power of the sea, but the paintings also have a sort of watercolour-like delicacy. She cannot imagine painting with watercolours.

"I'm too temperamental. The paper would be torn with a single brushstroke," she laughs.

Ex. 2 - transcript of the interview ("Painting with oils")

JO:	you paint with oil colours
IN:	yes
JO:	wouldn't it be easier to depict such maritime motifs with, for example, watercolours
IN:	no
JO:	why not
IN:	Like I just said I'll tear through the paper (.) no way no way (.) and then the thing is that (.) yeah, they just don't suit me (.) I tried them a long long time ago but (.) it's not my thing (.)

As these examples show, the first sentence of the quotation (*I'm too temperamental*) is not based word-for-word on the interview discourse, although its propositional meaning can somehow be *derived* from the interview conversation, *positioned* to the beginning of the quotation, and *reworded*. These italicised verbs are meant to refer to three abovementioned sub-processes of recontextualisation, which are decontextualisation, contextualisation, and textualisation, respectively. The second sentence of the quotation resembles the spoken utterance in some respects (*The paper would be torn with a single brushstroke* vs. *I'll tear through the paper*). Moreover, the informant-journalist told me in a retrospective interview – which will be introduced and discussed in Part II (2.2) – that the interviewee made some theatrical painting gestures with her hand when telling that she "would tear through the paper", and that this also influenced the wording of the quotation. Interestingly, in this way my research framework was provided with some visual ethnographic-like information, although the original interviews were not videotaped.

→ **For details, see Findings on linguistic modifications (2.1.2).**

Traditionally, journalistic interviews are thought to consist of the journalist's questions and the interviewee's answers. This probably derives from the fact that research on journalistic interviews has so far been limited to television (political) news interviews (Haapanen and Perrin, forthcoming 2017). However, as the example "Painting with oils" illustrates with its short alternating turns, journalistic interviews that are conducted in order to collect raw material for written journalistic items in particular involve highly diverse and mutually adaptive interaction.

→ **For details, see Interaction between the journalist and the interviewee (2.1.3).**

The interactional features present in “Painting with oils” are mainly obscured in the article: The journalist-narrator does not “exist” in the article, and the readers are not provided with any concrete hints about the discursive turn-taking during which the quoted discourse was originally produced. I have coined this particular aspect of the recontextualisation of interview discourse into articles and their quotations *monologisation*.

→ **For details, see The practice of monologisation (2.1.4).**

2.1.2 Findings on linguistic modifications

The version analysis between the journalistic interviews and the published articles based on them showed that it is common for the oral quoted-to-be-discourse to be modified in a number of ways when recontextualised into a written quotation format. In terms of situated meaning, the same heterogeneity applies to the relation between the original and the final discourses: it is not unusual for quotations, in their contexts, to be interpreted somewhat differently than the original discourse they were based on.

As already explained (1.3), I followed Linell (1998a: 154–155) in dividing the process of recontextualisation into three sub-processes. Below, I summarise the key findings distributing them loosely according to these sub-processes: decontextualisation, contextualisation and textualisation.

Decontextualisation refers to the process where the journalist selects and extracts the quoted-to-be-discourse. First of all, my analysis verifies and elaborates the prior research results, indicating that journalists may combine utterances from two or more places in an interview into one single quotation (see 1.2.2). Additionally, at this point journalists may merely quote the content of the original text – or, e.g., the register of the delivery of the interviewee – so that the published quotation will eventually have largely new wording. Furthermore, it is not exceptional that a quotation contains some words, phrases or other discursive elements which do not seem to originate and be decontextualised from the interview(s) they allegedly come from.

The second sub-process, *contextualisation*, refers to the process where the journalist positions the selected discourse into the article. As my data clearly show, journalistic articles are not protocols of the course of the oral interviews they are based on, rather they are dramaturgically independent stories (see a visual illustration of this in Article III: 227). Therefore, quoted discourse is often – if not always – positioned into a co-text that is different from the original interview text. This inevitably differentiates the interpretation of the original and the final discourse. Moreover, during decontextualisation and contextualisation the interactive turn exchange, as well as the journalist's involvement in the original oral discourse, is predominantly obscured in the article. This practice, which I have named *monologisation*, then substantially influences the interpretation of the quoted discourse. (On *monologisation* in more detail, see 2.1.4.)

The third sub-process, *textualisation*, refers to the process where the journalist modifies the quoted discourse. In principle, due to the nature of the oral and written modalities, many aspects of spoken delivery cannot be reproduced in writing (e.g. pauses, intonation, quality of voice, stresses). Even if we ignore these fundamental incorrespondences, the analysis shows clearly that the linguistic and textual form of the original discourse remains unchanged in the final discourse only in some very rare instances.

In practice, linguistic features and "disfluencies" reflecting the spontaneous nature of interview discourse are often deleted (e.g. repetitions, planning devices, restarts, hesitations, tongue slips, self-repairs) and word forms that are typical of oral language are standardised (e.g. *ajatellu* → *ajatellut* 'thought' [past participle form]). I assume that this is because journalistic quotations seem to aim at rather standard language form. However, despite the fact that occasional informal spoken language-like word choices and spellings, even structural features, seem to be possible in published quotations, it is far more common that the discourse is substantially modified resulting in deletions, insertions and revisions. These changes and modifications often make the quote more straightforward and unambiguous.

The linguistic modifications described above can affect the propositional meaning and illocutionary force of the quoted discourse, and change the impression we get of the speaker through the quotation(s). In some instances, however, these linguistic changes can "neutralise" the effect of the new context and keep the meaning – at least in some respect – closer to that of the original discourse (see, e.g., Article I: Section 3.1).

To conclude, the quality and quantity of the modification within the recontextualisation process can range from minor revisions to substantial alterations.[12] Furthermore, it is important to note that not only is there extensive variation in the modification of quotations within a single article, but there is also a

[12] Supposedly, the Finnish language prefers and requires some specific types of modifications. Therefore, a series of similar studies conducted in other languages and in other countries would add

wide range of variation in modifications within one quotation. In other words, some part of the quotation might be verbatim, whereas another part might be a complete rewording.

> **The relationship between journalistic interviews and the quotations based on them are thoroughly scrutinised in Article I (in English) and Article III (in Finnish). However, Articles II and IV as well as Haapanen (2016) and Haapanen and Perrin (forthcoming 2017) provide further evidence and empirical examples of this relationship.**

2.1.3 Interaction between the journalist and the interviewee

Traditionally, journalistic interviews are thought to consist of, at the very least, the journalist's questions and the interviewee's answers (see, for example, Clayman and Heritage 2002: 95; cf. Velthuis 2016). As my research has shown, in journalistic interviews conducted for journalistic articles – in contrast to, for instance, those interviews that are used as sound bites in television news – the reality seems to be much more complex.

My data show that journalistic interviews conducted for journalistic articles are not restricted to a series of adjacency pairs of questions and answers. Instead, journalistic interviews conducted for journalistic articles actually possess numerous characteristics traditionally associated with mundane conversations (see Heritage 1998: 7). Besides the journalist, also the interviewee him/herself often takes an active or even initiating role in the interview conversation. Furthermore, in addition to posing questions, journalists also engage in the interview, firstly, by using various response particles (such as *mm* 'um', *joo* 'yeah', *okei* 'okay') to prompt the interviewee to continue her turn, and secondly, by using longer follow-ups to provoke the interviewee to elaborate on the topic.

Naturally, the equality between the journalist and the interviewee as partners in the interaction is only relative and ostensible, since the journalist holds some authority and power over the interviewee on a number of levels. First, the journalist has most likely been in far more interview situations than the interviewee. Second, if s/he is an investigative journalist, s/he may have a wider breadth of knowledge than the interviewee. Finally, the journalist already has a vision of the story s/he wants and thus in some instances will use his or her position of authority to help direct the substance of the interview (e.g. Clayman 1995; Nylund 2003a and 2006a) – a situation that would be less likely if there was total

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to the view of the kinds of modifications actually used when making quotations. (About differing journalistic cultures, see, e.g., Hallin and Mancini 2004; Hanitzsch *et al.* 2011.)

equality between the journalist and the interviewee. To sum up, at a macro level, the journalist, together with other editorial staff – excluding the interviewees – are the ones who have the control over selecting the subject matter under consideration, arranging the interview situation, and deciding the exploitation of the interview as raw material for a journalistic output.

> **The nature of journalistic interviews conducted for journalistic articles is explicitly described in Article IV. However, the data examples exhibited and analysed, especially, in Article I and II as well as in Haapanen (2016), also illustrate the case in point.**

2.1.4 The practice of monologisation

The analysis of text versions of the process of making media items brought up a conventional and distinctive phenomenon – albeit heretofore unmentioned in journalistic literature – which I named *monologisation*. The notion of monologisation refers to the practice during which the interactive turn exchange between the journalist and the interviewee(s) is simplified in several respects – and sometimes totally concealed – in the article.[13] This is conducted, above all, by obscuring the involvement and the influence that the journalist has had in the interaction of the original spoken discourse. In practice, this means that the journalist's questions, as well as other types of initiative turns, are removed almost without exception.[14]

As a result of monologisation, the quotations appear to be unprompted and continuous utterances by the interviewee. At the very least, this type of *sequential repositioning* obscures the original responsiveness of the quoted discourse and misleads the reader, who has no opportunity to deduce how the quoted discourse was originally prompted. The process of monologisation may also modify and even distort the original meaning of the quoted discourse. In the worst case, monologisation can result in the reader's severe misapprehension of the statements assigned to the interviewee (see Article IV, The social relevance of monologisation practices).

[13] I based the name of the concept on the regular understanding of the words dialogue and monologue, which succeeds in reflecting the contrast between a journalistic interview as a discourse with relatively frequent turn-taking by two (or more) participants and a published, edited quotation as a discourse by a single language user. However, I am not perceiving a quotation as monologue in itself because it naturally is in an interactional relationship with the surrounding text as well as the reader. Furthermore, a quotation itself could contain dialogical aspects such as quoting.
[14] Makkonen-Craig (2014a: 103–105) has discussed a similar phenomenon as a rhetorical means in journalistic writing, and considered a text "monologized" in its perspective "when an author authorizes and legitimizes only one perspective in the topic discussed" (ibid. 103).

Monologisation, as described in this research within the context of written journalism, is a phenomenon that occurs and is relevant in both auditorily and audio-visually broadcasted media. Furthermore, the same phenomenon is also relevant in other contexts, such as converting research interviewing or police interrogating into written reports.

> **The notion of *monologisation* is exhaustively covered in Article IV. In addition, it is substantially dealt with in Article I (esp. subsection 3.4), which also addresses the relationship between various ways of documenting an interview and their influences over monologisation (see also Haapanen 2016).**

2.2 Part II. Tracing journalists' quoting practices

Based on the findings of the first part of my research, the relationship between journalistic interviews and the direct quotations produced from them is complex and case-specific: it seems impossible to predict the form of a quotation merely by reviewing what was stated in the original interview. Conversely, determining what was actually expressed in an interview cannot be inferred from the written quotation.

The ostensible randomness of linguistic modifications and changes in the structure of the interaction between the journalist and the interviewee has led me to the second part of the research. The relationship between journalistic interviews and journalistic articles can be seen as *an intertextual chain*, which refers to the transformational relation between texts (Fairclough 1992: 130–133). During this "chaining", a particular type of text is transformed into another type of text "in regular and predictable ways" (ibid. 130). In this part, I examine those conventionalised quoting strategies and practices that link the quotation to the original interview.

2.2.1 Research design

A conventional option for capturing the journalist's train of thought, writing strategies, and intentions would have been to conduct an interview-based inquiry (Grésillon and Perrin 2014). However, such an approach involves inadequate access to mental processes, because the data would be based solely on the informants' explanations regarding what they were thinking and what they were both willing and able to share with the researcher. The limitations of a conventional interview method materialised in my earlier research (Haapanen 2011) when I conducted a series of semi-structured interviews with experienced journalists and journalism educators inquiring about their perceptions of quoting. The answers I received mostly repeated the idealistic standpoints expressed in journalism guidebooks and textbooks (see also Mitchell and Rosenstiel 2000). Therefore, adopting only a conventional retrospective protocol, such as a semi-structured interview, did not seem to serve my purposes (cf. Makkonen-Craig 2005 and 2011). Instead, a retrospective protocol needed to be linked concretely to the parts of the intertextual chain, i.e. the interview and (the writing of) the article, to provide a better insight into the actual work practices of journalists (Similarly, see Androutsopoulos 2008: 8).

To overcome the potential problems with validity described above, I adopted the **stimulated recall (SR)** method. SR has been most frequently used in the analysis of learning processes, interpersonal skills, and decision-making in the educational, medical/clinical, and second-language research fields (for an overview, see Lyle 2003). It has, however, also been applied to media research (e.g. Rautkorpi [2011] has studied the production of television talk shows as a programming genre and its development prospects).

Traditionally, SR begins with videotaping a selected person at work, after which the person is asked to view and comment on the video. The method is designed to increase people's awareness of their performance and thus help them reconstruct the trains of thought they had while working. Due to the stimulus (= traditionally the videotape), the method also prompts informants to "discuss processes and interactions that they otherwise might have neglected" (Smagorinsky 1994: xv; see also Dempsey 2010: 350–351). In general, SR is a flexible tool for various research frameworks (e.g. DiPardo 1994).

In my application of SR, I used the transcript of the recording of the original journalistic interview (data set 1) and the published article (data set 3) as stimuli for the verbal protocol (**data set 4**) that reconstructed the informant-journalist's quoting process. Each SR session consisted of four elements. The session began with an enquiry of the informant-journalist's **biographical and background information**, which was then followed by two cycles of close reading of the transcript and the published article. These two cycles were organised according to the theoretical three-part structure of recontextualisation (see 1.3): **SR Cycle 1** searched for quoting practices pertaining to the decontextualisation of the interview discourse and the contextualisation of it into an emerging article, and **SR Cycle 2** addressed the sub-process of textualisation. Furthermore, my SR sessions aimed at revealing **other quoting-related issues** such as factors that influence the quoting practices of the informant-journalists. It is worth mentioning that at the beginning of each SR session I brought out my own decade-long work history as a journalist and press officer. Thus, the informant-journalists were aware that I was familiar with the various strategies that journalists go through when quoting, and as a consequence I believe they were also more willing to comment on their quoting practices even if they contradicted the prevalent guidelines. Next, I will describe in detail the course of the SR data collection (see also Article II).

The information about the informant-journalist's biographical details, such as age, education, current position and work history, as well as guidance s/he might have received on quoting, if any, was gathered with the help of a written questionnaire. This enquiry also explored the informant's general perceptions and rules of thumb about quoting. As mentioned, I strived for a diverse set of informant-journalists. The accumulation of biographical information proved that besides gender, age, and the type of publication worked for, the informants' work experiences and professional education (or the lack of it) also varied greatly and reflected the diverse backgrounds among journalists in general quite well.

The aim of the first cycle of SR was to determine the strategies and practices concerning the first and second sub-process of quoting, namely decontextualisation and contextualisation. In essence, I asked the informant-journalist to look at the published article and, first, to explicate why s/he had selected this particular text segment or content to be quoted, and second, why the quotation was positioned in that particular place in the article.

During the second cycle of SR, the informant-journalist and I closely read the published article and the transcript of the journalistic interview. The main objective of this cycle was to determine the strategies and practices for the textualisation of the quoted discourse.

Alongside this formal procedure I asked about other views relating to quoting and also let the interviewee bring out his or her own views on the matter. I was especially interested in hearing about factors that motivated and influenced the quoting process.

Altogether, I conducted the SR session with 11 journalists. At this point, the answers appeared to be "saturated", in that significantly new aspects no longer arose during the last sessions. The number of sessions also seemed appropriate for my qualitative research purposes.

The following table (Table 2) will summarise the content of a SR session in a more visual way, which will also be illustrated by exploiting excerpts drawn from the example "Painting with oils".

Table 2. *The course of a stimulated recall (SR) session.*

Four elements of a SR session		
Phases of the SR	**Goal of the phase**	**Example "Painting with oils"**
Biographical and background information	To learn the informants' ages and educational backgrounds, work histories, as well as guidance they have received on quoting, if any, etc.	Middle-aged woman, unfinished university studies (Journalism as a minor), a couple of 2–3-day update training courses. More than 30 years of work experience in regional and local newspapers. Mainly as a news reporter. Cannot recall any instructions on quoting from either guidebooks or the editorial offices where she has worked. Always takes notes by hand. With explosive topics (e.g. politics), she sometimes also tape-records the interview to protect herself from possible repercussions.
Two cycles of close reading	To determine the practices of the decontextualisation and contextualisation phases	"It was difficult to find good quotes, because this interviewee didn't analyse her own work practices as profoundly as some other artists." However, "she spoke strongly with her hands, and it was interesting. Here she showed with her gestures that the paper would tear", so the journalist decided to decontextualise this aspect of the interviewee's turn. "I don't plan the structure of an article in advance but instead I often pre-arrange a list of questions which then steer the line of the emerging article", as happened this time as well. It's worth mentioning that sometimes some good quotes – "pearls" as she called them – need to be positioned at the beginning of the article, and in this way quotations clearly affect the whole structure of the article.
	To determine the practices of textualisation phase	She spoke so quickly and so much that I had to shorten and clarify this quotation. (…) I standardised her colloquial speech.

Other quoting-related issues	Influencing factors on quoting, the role of quoting in the writing process, etc.	In my opinion, a quotation must be short and snappy. I don't know why… maybe it's more reader-friendly that way. The best bits as quotations and the rest somehow inserted into the text, moulded in one way or another. Our layout is carefully conceptualised (= pre-designed), and sometimes I work on the placement of quotations so that they suit the layout better. *Do you discuss quoting practices in some particular assignment or generally?* No. When we assemble a newspaper issue we are in such a great hurry that there's no time. I would love to discuss work practices, but our schedules are so tight that there's no time for that.

After collecting the SR data, it was analysed by exploiting **a two-cycle qualitative content analysis procedure** proposed by Johnny Saldaña (2009). In the first cycle of the analysis, I identified similar quoting processes which emerged from the retrospective protocol data (SR Cycle 1 and 2). I then labelled the segments with shared features with a common code, for example, in terms of topic, purpose, goal or practice. I will illustrate this analysis with the example "painting with oils" (see also Table 3): The segment pertaining to the decontextualisation phase of the quoting process ("*It was difficult to find good quotes, because…*", see Table 2) was assigned the code <CHARACTERISING THE SPEAKER> and <DESCRIBING THE INTERVIEWEE'S WAY OF SEEING THE ISSUE>. The segment pertaining to the contexualisation phase (*I don't plan the structure of an article in advance but…*), was, in turn, assigned the code <CONSTRUCTING THE NARRATION OF THE ARTICLE>. The segments of the SR that concerned the textualisation phase of the quoting process were then attributed the codes <CLARIFYING THE QUOTED DISCOURSE> (*She spoke so quickly and so much that I had to shorten and clarify this quotation.*) and <MODIFYING INTO STANDARD LANGUAGE> (*I standardised her colloquial speech.*).

In the second cycle of the analysis, I identified the similarities in the patterns of the quoting processes and organised similar codes into categories. The goal of this second cycle was to reach a compact and credible number of conceptual categories in relation to the range of the retrospective verbal protocols collected in SR sessions. I will again illustrate this second cycle of the analysis with the example “Painting with oils”: The first two aforementioned codes fell into the category <CONSTRUCTING THE PERSONA OF THE INTERVIEWEE>. The third code, dealing with contextualisation, was linked with another similar code, and they were labelled <CONSTRUCTING THE NARRATION>. The codes pertaining to the textualisation phase – <CLARIFYING THE QUOTED DISCOURSE> and <MODIFYING INTO STANDARD LANGUAGE> – were positioned within two categories, <CLARIFYING THE ORIGINAL MESSAGE> and <STANDARDISING THE LINGUISTIC FORM>, respectively.

In its entirety, I identified nine categories covering the practices that create intertextual chains between the journalistic interview and quotations. The analysis also produced a *core category* of <EXECUTING THE OBJECTIVE(S) OF THE ARTICLE OVER THE DEMAND FOR “DIRECTNESS”> that covers, and has an explanatory relevance, for all nine quoting practices revealed.

Table 3. *An illustration of the course of the analysis.*

<table>
<tr><th colspan="5">An illustration of the analysis with “painting with oils”</th></tr>
<tr><th>Phase of the quoting process</th><th>Excerpt from the data set 4</th><th>Coding → (1st cycle of the analysis)</th><th>Categorising → (2nd cycle of the analysis)</th><th>Core category</th></tr>
<tr><td>Decontextualising</td><td>It was difficult to find good quotes, because…</td><td>CHARACTERISING THE SPEAKER
DESCRIBING THE INTERVIEWEE’S WAY OF SEEING THE ISSUE</td><td>CONSTRUCTING THE PERSONA OF THE INTERVIEWEE</td><td rowspan="4">EXECUTING THE OBJECTIVE(S) OF THE ARTICLE OVER THE DEMAND FOR “DIRECTNESS”</td></tr>
<tr><td>Contextualising</td><td>I don’t plan the structure of an article in advance but…</td><td>CONSTRUCTING THE NARRATION OF THE ARTICLE</td><td>CONSTRUCTING THE NARRATION</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Textualising</td><td>She spoke so quickly and so much that I had to…</td><td>CLARIFYING THE QUOTED DISCOURSE</td><td>CLARIFYING THE ORIGINAL MESSAGE</td></tr>
<tr><td>I standardised her colloquial speech.</td><td>MODIFYING INTO STANDARD LANGUAGE</td><td>STANDARDISING THE LINGUISTIC FORM</td></tr>
</table>

2.2.2 Aiming at the objective of the emerging article

The main finding of Part II is the depiction of nine practices of journalistic quoting which link the journalistic interviews and the quotations as the intertextual chains. These nine practices were classified under the particular sub-process of quoting in which they occur: three decontextualisation practices focus on selecting a suitable piece of information from the interview, while two contextualisation practices influence the positioning of the quoted material in the final article, and four textualisation practices pertain to deletions, changes and insertions in the quoted material itself.

These practices were then connected axially to detect a *core category* (Saldaña 2009: 163–167). The core category is composed of all the products of the analysis and is condensed into a few words. It is illuminating for the analysis as it "explain[s] variation as well as the main point made by the data" (Strauss 1987, quoted in Strauss and Corbin 1998: 147). The core category abstracted from the SR data in Part II is <EXECUTING THE OBJECTIVE(S) OF THE ARTICLE OVER THE DEMAND FOR "DIRECTNESS">. In effect, such overarching objective, or objectives, are fluctuating in nature: a journalist receives an assignment describing the task that s/he must complete, and this task serves as the objective to strive for as the journalist searches for sources, selects interviewees, outlines the text, and finally writes the article. During these stages, however, s/he most likely revisits the objective, and this revisited objective may differ from the original one.

Next, I will describe in detail the nine practices of journalistic quoting. Three **practices of decontextualisation** explain journalists' reasoning for the selection of particular parts of the interview to be used as direct quotations in the article. The decontextualisation practices comprise practices of three types, as described below.

> 1) *Constructing the persona of the interviewee*. Journalists tend to quote the opinions, insights, viewpoints and other personal perceptions that describe the interviewee's mind-set. In addition, utterances that reflect how the interviewee structures his or her thoughts and reactions toward a subject matter are likewise quotable, as are utterances that describe his or her delivery and distinctive manner of speaking.
>
> 2) *Disclaiming responsibility*. The source of information is indicated by a quotation, or more precisely, the reporting clause. Journalists quote utterances on subject matters that cannot be easily verified, and thus they protect themselves by transferring the responsibility for the factual content to the interviewee. Quotation marks also confirm − or rather aim at creating an illusion − that the word choices and other linguistic details in the quotation are originally the interviewee's.

3) *Adding plausibility to the article*. A quotation that is attributed to an expert-interviewee strengthens his/her presence in the article (which is an intrinsic value in human-centred articles), and this in turn gives further credence to the veracity of the factual content covered in the article. Indeed, journalists perceive quotations as having particular significance in relation to the body text of the article, and it therefore makes sense to place important and interesting content into a quotation. Furthermore, any content presented in the form of a quotation gains added importance.

Since journalistic articles are not accounts of the course of the journalistic interviews, decontextualised segments cannot be mechanically transferred to their "right places" in the article. Instead, this contextualisation process requires deliberate and conscious decision-making. Based on my analysis, **contextualisation practices** have two key goals in the article-writing process.

4) *Constructing the narration*. A journalistic article is an independent text entity, and for this reason, journalists place the quoted content in the article in a way that best fits and contributes to the predetermined storyline.

5) *Pacing the structure*. The quotations and the body text need to alternate in a smooth and natural way. Journalists seem to share the common principle that they will not incorporate two quotations in succession without having at least a reporting clause between them. Furthermore, relatively short quotations are preferred and long quotations are avoided, although there is variation concerning formal preferences among journalists. Another observation is that the length of the final quotations do not need to correlate with the length of the original stretches of talk on which they are based. In other words, however long the original stretches of talk might be, they are reduced to relatively short quotations.

Once the to-be-quoted segments are positioned in the emerging article, substantial modifications to the textual and linguistic form of the texts are often required. These **practices of textualisation** aim at fulfilling the function(s) of the quotations in the storyline (about the functions of quotations, see the references in 1.2.2). However, it is important to note that when the original discourse meets the target that the journalist has set for this particular quotation-in-the-making, it can be quoted in its original linguistic form without modification.

6) *Standardising the linguistic form*. Quotations are modified into standard language on a routine basis. This requires both deleting the "disfluencies" caused by the on-line nature of spoken language (such as colloquial words, re-starts, self-corrections, and expletives) and simplifying clause structures that reflect the oral origin in their fragmental shape.

7) *Intentionally including vernacular aspects*. Deviations from universal standardisation are acceptable as "flavour", as worded by an informant-journalist in the SR, but these deviations need to serve some specific function in the storyline. Most often they concern a single informal word or phrase and thus they usually characterise the interviewee by indicating his/her original word choice or enunciation.

Practices 6 and 7 are found throughout my data. However, they do not account for a considerable number of modifications. These modifications involve deletions and insertions as well as changes in the order of elements ranging from a suffix or word, to a phrase, or a longer stretch of text. It is noteworthy that insertions can also include some linguistic elements that do not exist in the journalistic interview. When explaining the reasoning behind these modifications, the informant-journalists referred to the following two practices.

> 8) *Clarifying the original message*. To clarify and condense the original message provided by the interviewee, journalists perform deletions, insertions, and other modifications to the quoted text; or to be more accurate, one might say that the journalists clarify their own interpretation of the message.
>
> 9) *Sharpening the function of the quotation*. Essentially, the modifications are made so that the quotations fulfil their function in the storyline. In other words, certain material is selected (decontextualised) from the interview and positioned (contextualised) into the storyline for some specific reason; and the quotation is modified (textualised) in a way that best fulfils this task.

> **The nine practices of quoting and the core category connecting them are thoroughly explained in Article II.**

2.3 PART III. Investigating quoting in the light of media concepts

In Part II, the analysis revealed nine key quoting practices that journalists adopt when recontextualising oral interviews as written quotations in journalistic articles. Furthermore, the analysis also showed that all of these quoting practices serve the general goal of achieving the objectives of the article in the making.

Elsewhere (Haapanen 2016)[15] I used the stimulated recall data (data set 4) collected for this research and a method presented by Johnny Saldaña (Saldaña 2009) to construct the factors affecting and influencing concrete quoting processes. Based on this analysis, quoting appeared to be influenced by four factors: **i)** the type of article under construction, **ii)** the guidelines of the publisher and editorial office regarding quoting, **iii)** the shared journalistic culture, and **iv)** personal preferences.

In this third part, I investigated from a different point of view how the journalist's operational environment is structured and how the different aspects influence the examined quoting practices. To fulfil this objective, a more complex

[15] This article does not form part of my dissertation.

research frame was needed to relate observable quoting processes with the broader, tacit contexts of production. Effectively, I aimed at explaining the modifications revealed by the version analysis of data sets 1 and 3, and which was justified by the informant-journalists in the stimulated recall sessions (data set 4), through the notion of *media concepts*.

2.3.1 Research design

The notion of **media concepts** introduces and organises relevant extra-linguistic contexts and contextual resources that affect the process of creating any specific media product. The notion was formulated by Finnish journalism scholars Merja Helle and Maija Töyry (Töyry 2005, Helle and Töyry 2009, Helle 2010). Most often the notion is applied as a tool for analysing and solving contradictions in work practices as well as developing media products (see the case studies in Helle 2010). In linguistic research, media concepts have been used to compare the relationship between the intended aims of journalists and the produced journalistic texts (Jaakola, Töyry, Helle, and Onikki-Rantajääskö 2014).

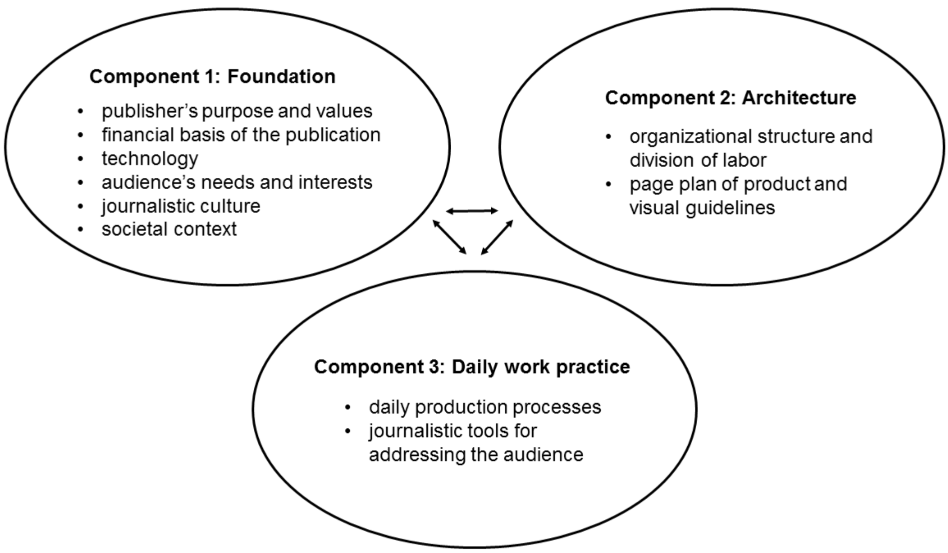
The notion of media concepts is based on cultural-historical activity theory, which conceptualises organisations as activity systems which have historically and socially developed goals and purposes. In activity theoretical terms, every organisation has an object of activity which materialises in some outcome – either as services or, as in my research topic, a product (Engeström 1987). The key point of activity theoretical thinking, in the light of my research, is that within the activity system, the work practices of a practitioner are not merely an individual or independent piece of craft, but are influenced by the external and internal contexts of the work process. In other words, the community, the rules and conventions of the activity, and the division of labour describe the way work is organised towards the common object and its outcome.

However, activity systems are always heterogeneous and multi-voiced, because different practitioners construct the object and the other components of the activity in different, partially overlapping and partially conflicting ways (Engeström 1987). For example, the journalist, editor-in-chief, graphic designer, and advertising sales representative work towards the same final outcome, a good newspaper, but on the micro level, they most probably have differing ideas as to what is *good*. Such internal tensions in the activity system appear as disturbances, such as errors, problems, breakdowns, and ruptures of communication, and therefore an activity theory, and especially developmental work research, analyses disturbances as a way to find deeper structural and historical contradictions in work practices within the activity system and a network of activity systems (Helle 2000).

Based on activity theory and developmental work research, Jaakko Virkkunen has developed *the concept of activity* to model and describe activity systems (e.g. Virkkunen 2006 and 2007). The concept of activity consists of three components: 1) the purpose and values of an activity system, 2) the artefact or service produced, and 3) its production in daily practice. By identifying these components, the concept of activity makes it possible to better coordinate individual actions as the concept is "embedded in the structures and daily practices of the activity" (Virkkunen 2006: 46).

The notion of a *media concept* is an adaption of the concept of activity to media research, and it can be utilised both for scrutinising existing media products as well as creating new ones (e.g. Helle 2010). A media concept is structured into three mutually constitutive and closely intertwined components, which organises contextual resources that affect the production of any specific media product (see Figure 1). Within my research design, I use the notion as empirically grounded modelling to relate a single quoting practice to the broad object of the activity system.

Figure 1. *Components of a media concept (based on Helle and Töyry 2009: 502).*



Component 1 of a media concept consists of the publisher's values and purpose, and the financial basis of the publication. Values can be financial or ideological, whereas purpose could refer to maximal profit, dissemination of ideology, or wide circulation over targeting a precise segment of readers, or vice versa. The financial basis could consist of subscription fees, advertising revenue, and/or subsidies from some interest group.

In addition, Component 1 includes the technology available, the needs and interests of the desired audience, the journalistic culture, as well as the societal context. Journalistic culture refers to the close socio-cultural context in which all the persons involved in the particular activity (i.e. the production of a newspaper or magazine) operate. Societal context refers to the rules and regulations governing the kinds of media that can exist and be consumed.

To further illustrate Component 1 in practice, I will exploit the example "Painting with oils". The informant-journalist mentioned in her SR session that she prefers "short and snappy" quotations because they meet the audience's needs – at least as she perceives them. (*In my opinion, a quotation must be short and snappy. I don't know why… maybe it's more reader-friendly that way*).

Component 2 refers to "the architecture of the whole and its parts" (Helle and Töyry 2009: 504; see also Helle 2010: 116), and it can be considered from two perspectives, that of organisation and that of content. The architecture of the whole is usually rather stable and is pre-designed.

The organisational architecture includes the management and production principles, as well as the division of labour. In practice, this refers, for example, to top-down decisions whether the work is done by regular employees or freelancers, or organised to be done in an individual or co-operational way. The architecture of the content, in turn, refers to the fact that each media product usually has a more or less standardised structure for presenting contents. This subcomponent is best characterised as a "template" for achieving the values and purpose of Component 1. For example, any particular media product usually comprises a specific combination of article types[16] in a certain order, and furthermore, these article types have explicitly determined targets and textual and visual instructions.

[16] Helle and Töyry (2009) employ the term *story type* (in Finnish *juttutyyppi*). They use it as a broad tool for analysing and developing journalistic content and editorial processes. It is determined not only by a designated *article type* (news, profile, investigative reporting, etc.), but also by the visual design both within the scope of a single article and the structure of a publication as a

In the example "Painting with oils", the informant-journalist mentioned in her SR session that the carefully pre-designed layout also steers the placement of quotations (*Our layout is carefully conceptualised, and sometimes I work on the placement of quotations so that they suit the layout better*). The informant-journalist also pointed out that as a result of their workload, the journalist ended up feeling that there was no time to discuss quoting principles with anyone (*When we assemble a newspaper issue we are in such a great hurry that there's no time. I would love to discuss work practices, but our schedules are so tight that there's no time for that*).

Component 3 comprises the daily production processes and practices through which the "template" is implemented. This is the "hands-on" level, where the concrete decisions are made. Such decisions consider, for example, how the communicative means (entertaining, informative, persuasive, and/or commenting) are achieved to meet the purpose of the publisher; how the probable contradictory aims (of editorial, advertising, and circulation departments, etc.) are negotiated; and how the interviews, writing, and editing are performed. Contrary to the stable and standardised Component 2, some daily practices of the editorial staff may vary. For example, it is often decided from article to article which journalist is assigned to write it and how the writing process in all its details is performed. On the other hand, some daily practices should vary. For example, the selection of topics, viewpoints, and interviewees must change to sustain the reader's interest and thus ensure their loyalty to that particular media product.

In the light of my research frame, I investigated how the nine quoting practices (see Part II) and the array of modifications they resulted in between the interview and the quotations (see Part I), are influenced by a rather stable and pre-designed architecture of organisation and content (Component 2) and, furthermore, by the publisher's values, audience's needs, and other fundamental contextual factors (Component 1). In other words, how concrete processes of quoting (Component 3) are fulfilling the broad object of the journalistic activity.

whole (see also Töyry, Räty, and Kuisma 2008). However, because the term is not widely established outside of the Finnish mediascape, I employ here the term *article type* in its traditional meaning.

2.3.2 Contradictory factors influencing quoting practices

My research produced empirical support for the schematic structure of the notion of media concepts. The stimulated recall sessions brought into light various points and factors that relate to quoting, and each of these aspects could then be placed under one of the three components of a media concept.

From the second research question's point of view (*How can we explain those quoting practices…?*), the notion of media concepts helped to explain the heterogeneity and unpredictability of the quotation-making process discussed in Part I. In practice, media concepts were particularly useful in explaining single quoting-related aspects as interdependent constituents in a broader context of journalistic article production. The key finding of Part III is then to cast light on the multi-dimensional interplay of various contextual resources that takes place in quoting, as demonstrated in the following.

One of my informant-journalists justified the substantial modification she had made to the quoted discourse by referring to two requirements: on the one hand, the article and its quotations must "cover major issues from multiple angles", and on the other hand, it must meet "tight space restrictions" (see Article I: appendix, V). These aspects, defined by the predesigned architecture of the content (Component 2), substantially contradict each other. However, besides the obvious cross-pressure between these two goals, the informant-journalist also brought out an aspect that helped her to cope with the contradiction: since it is technically easy to mould the original interview discourse in a writing phase (Component 3), for example, to fit in the preset length requirements, one can concentrate on information gathering in the interview without worrying about the exact form of the interviewee's words. Such practice also seems to be socially accepted within the profession, because it was mentioned by several informant-journalists in their SR sessions. In other words, substantial "post-interview" modification can be seen as part of the predominant journalistic culture (Component 1).

Above, there was a contradiction between two aimed-for aspects of the content architecture of the article in the making (that is, between two aspects under Component 2). However, the contradiction can also exist between the two different components. For example, one of the main goals in crafting quotations is, according to an informant-journalist, to ensure that readers can understand the quotations (audience's needs, Component 1), and this goal of intelligibility is supported by another goal, namely that the inscription of quotations must follow grammatically correct standard language (journalistic culture, Component 1). In contrast, colloquialisms and word forms mimicking the exact pronunciation certainly reduce the intelligibility of the quotation, but they can be used when they have a definite narrational point in the emerging article (the architecture of the content, Component 2). Such a narrational point exists, for example, when an Eastern Finland-based immigrant of Syrian origin is quoted using a dialectal singular first-person pronoun *mie* (*minä*, 'I', in the standard Finnish) in order to demonstrate his good adjustment to his new place of residence (see Haapanen 2016: 217–218).

Quoting is a process of constant internal negotiation between various points and aspects that might be difficult to reconcile. Furthermore, these aspects may in the first place originate from different fundamental premises and be determined by different stakeholders. For example, inadequate resource allocation (the organisational architecture, Component 2) may cause time pressure that, in turn, leads to the selection of disadvantageous working methods (daily production processes, Component 3), such as taking notes by hand because there is no time for tape-recording and transcribing (see Article I: appendix, XI) despite its inaccuracy (see Article I: appendix, X). However, whereas the commonly mentioned goal of reproducing the original idea of the interviewee's utterances in quotations (journalistic culture, Component 1) may suffer from haste, the technical easiness of modifying the quoted text (technology, Component 1) can help the writer cope with insufficient raw material. At the grass roots level, these disadvantages must be managed by the journalists themselves, although internal contradictions may originate from fundamental premises that individual journalists can neither affect nor change.

To conclude, a trigger for this entire research was to investigate, analyse and explain the obvious contradiction between the perception of quoting presented in journalistic guidebooks and the actual and prevalent process of quoting. However, it became evident in the course of the analysis that there are also substantial and fundamental contradictions within the actual quoting taking place in journalists' daily work. The current research has raised the question of these multidimensional contextual resources and also pointed out their relevance. It is my wish that future research will explore these issues further.

The findings discussed in this section are further explained in Article I.

3 Conclusions and beyond

Once analyses have been conducted and their findings summarised, it is time to raise the question “then what?” In this chapter, I will discuss how the findings of this research contribute to academia (3.1) on the one hand, and have social relevance (3.2) on the other. The chapter concludes by outlining two future lines of research (3.3).

3.1 Contribution to academia

In journalistic quoting, spoken discourse is converted into written form, but additionally, quotation discourse is often modified in ways that do not seem to be necessary just because the context has changed. Thus, my research contributes both to an understanding of the relationship between oral and written language use and the collective knowledge of quoting (3.1.1). Within media linguistics, my findings confirm some results within the field and challenge others. Overall, the findings considerably expand our comprehension of journalistic quoting and the nature of journalistic interviews conducted to gather raw material for a piece of written journalism. (3.1.2.)

3.1.1 Towards a comprehensive conception of quoting

To begin with, my research contributes to the knowledge of the relationship between oral and written discourse, and the tension involved (e.g. Biber 1988; Linell 2005; Tiittula and Nuolijärvi 2016; Silverstein and Urban 1996; Tiittula 1992). Besides its two fundamental channels of use, oral and written – the march of technology has also created hybrids of language use, found in such situations as online-chat. In journalistic quoting, the change from the spoken to the written channel necessarily involves such auditory factors as intonation, stress, and pauses, which do not have any conventional, let alone exact, counterpart in writing. Moreover, journalistic quotations often also go through more extensive modifications than is intuitively expected. This finding is in line with research into spoken-written conversion in other domains, such as intralingual subtitling (e.g. Pöntys 2016), speech-to-text interpreting (e.g. Rainò and Laurén 2016; Wiklund 2013), research interviews (e.g. Bucholtz 2007; Ruusuvuori and Nikander 2016), a meeting of an organisation (e.g. Nissi 2016), writing down examination records (e.g. Byrman 2016; Jönsson and Linell 1991; van Charldorp 2014), and recording the plenaries of the Finnish Parliament (e.g. Slembrouck 1992; Voutilainen 2016).

My research also helps understand quoting as a phenomenon on a deeper level. Quotations published in the media are often based on journalistic interviews. Surprisingly, as my research has shown, it is common for a great proportion of the article text, other than the quotations, to have also been derived from the interview. Notwithstanding this thorough intertextuality, journalistic media items are independent, purpose-oriented, and dramaturgically consistent stories, not descriptive, slavishly reproduced accounts of the course of the journalistic interview. When it comes to quoting within this transformation from interviews to articles, the most eye-catching and evident aspect to focus on is the linguistic appearance of the quoted discourse. This has also been a central aspect in previous research on quoting, regardless of the particular domain (e.g. Clark and Gerrig 1990; Johnson Barella 2005; Lehrer 1989; Mayes 1990; Short, Semino, and Wynne 2002). However, in addition to *textualisation* I suggest also taking *decontextualisation* and *contextualisation* strategies and practices under more thorough investigation. I argue that such a development would result in a more *comprehensive conception of quoting*. For the big picture – not only quoting in the media, but also in other domains – decontextualisation and contextualisation are the processes within which the most essential, influential, and far-reaching decisions are likely to be taken. This includes considerations such as determining which rare and relatively short stretches of talk-in-interaction have been selected and extracted from the interview, and where these to-be-quoted stretches are to be positioned in the emerging article.

3.1.2 Expanding the big picture on journalistic quoting

In the field of media linguistics, my research constitutes a needed contribution. First of all, it broadens the focus of quoting practices and journalistic interviews in the media from just the audio-visually broadcasted context to the written one, and from just breaking news and politics, to a variety of article genres (e.g. profiles and fact-based articles) and topics.

Secondly, in terms of explaining quoting strategies and practices, my research not only (i) verifies certain findings of previous research but also (ii) takes a step further in the investigation. For example, (i) my research confirms and elaborates the fact that quoting is principally guided by the journalist's preliminary idea of what the emerging story should and could look like (e.g. Clayman 1995; Nylund 2003a and 2006a). In turn, (ii) the notion of *monologisation* is a step forward in explaining journalistic work processes, and this notion is also applicable in various other domains and sites of language use, such as scientific writing, political discourse, and police interrogations, where oral discourse is reproduced *per se* in written form – at least ostensibly.

Third, this research shows that there is not only extensive variation in the modifications of quotations from article to article, but also within individual articles, and even within individual quotations; which is to say that some part of the quotation might be verbatim, whereas another part might be a rewording.[17] As indicated by my research, this complexity cannot be explained by any single factor – be it, e.g., the medium, the experience of the journalist, the identity of the interviewee, the means to record the interview, the topic in question, or the type of article in the making. Although my data are too small for drawing all-encompassing conclusions, my research does challenge some "weak hypotheses" about journalistic quoting practices to which a product-bound approach is said to be prone to lead (NewsTalk&Text Research Group 2011: 5–6). For example, Short, Semino, and Wynne (2002: 352), in their discussion of the utility of the notion of *faithfulness*, suggest that "[a]lthough we do not have specific examples to illustrate the point, we suspect that, unless legal proceedings are thought possible, popular magazines and newspapers are likely to be less careful about faithfulness [of their quotations] than more serious journalistic organs". Without harping on the use of such vague terms as "popularity" and "seriousness", my findings do not support such a loose sentiment. Moreover, within the same paper the writers also assume that the words of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher must be "faithfully reproduced word by word", because of her societal position and the importance of her statement (ibid. 344). Such reasoning resonates with the much-cited insight "the higher the status of a speaker, the more direct the presentation" (Davis 1985:

[17] These results challenge the practice of grouping quotations according to any one type of modification, as Johnson Barella (2005) has done.

47) that persistently lives on even today (Bell 1991: 205; Satoh 2001; Dai and Xu 2014). However, the interplay between the original and the final discourse is more complex, as shown by my comparison between two interviews with the Finnish President, Sauli Niinistö (see, Article I: 3.1 Verbatim quoting).

In sum, a quotation drawn from an interview is an important part of today's journalism (see, e.g., Ekström 2006) and the process of quoting is an integrated element in every major aspect of daily journalistic production practices (see, e.g., Kroon Lundell and Ekström 2010). Further, my research expands the big picture on journalistic quoting, especially by integrating the notion of media concepts into my research design, and shows that quotations and quoting also reflect the publishers' ideological values and purposes, the financial basis of publications, the needs and interests of the audience and, furthermore, the current journalistic culture and societal context in which the publishing takes place. These interdependent aspects, importantly, can support but also contradict each other. This means that quoting is a constant internal negotiation process between aspects which originate from various fundamental conditions of media publishing and journalistic work.

3.2 Societal relevance

In this section, I will discuss the social relevance of my results from two points of view. Firstly, since routinisation of daily work practices can restrain journalists from improving them, a breakdown of the process of quoting has the potential to benefit practitioners in the field (3.2.1). Secondly, this research also equips readers with some useful tools that they can apply in their attempts to improve their critical media literacy, and this aspect is demonstrated with a recent authentic example (3.2.2). Additionally, my research also has implications for primary and secondary education and for the school system more generally. In Finland (and elsewhere), newspaper articles are commonly exploited as teaching material in classrooms (see e.g. Puro 2014).

3.2.1 Breakdown of journalists' routines

Since my data consist of information about journalists' actual work processes, this research could not discover anything substantially new that was not already a part of their daily routines. However, the stimulated recall sessions did reveal some interesting aspects of my informant-journalists' work and the degree of awareness of their practices, as demonstrated by the quotations given below (the

Finnish responses are the originals). For example, the informant-journalists found it advantageous to reflect on their own work in such analytical settings (a) and at the same time they were often slightly surprised at their actual quoting practices (b). All in all, the process of quoting was revealed as a fairly routinised part of their work flow (c) (cf. Zampa and Perrin 2016).

> a) In my opinion, this was also very useful for me – having to look at your own way of working from an outside perspective. You view your work habits from a different angle, and you have to explain why you've done things this way.
>
> Mun mielestä tää oli itsellekin tosi hyödyllistä että joutuu katsomaan omaa työskentelyä ulkopuolelta. Näkee omaa työskentelyä eri kulmasta ja että joutuu perustelemaan, miksi oot tehnyt näin.
>
> b) I guess I was kind of stunned myself when I realised that these [quotations] have been edited this much.
>
> Ehkä tätä itekkin hätkähtää kun huomaa että näitä [sitaatteja] on näinkin paljon muokattu.
>
> c) Maybe I don't stop to think so consciously about why something is a quotation and why something else is an indirect narrative. It tends to happen quite intuitively when I'm constructing an article.
>
> En mä kovin tietoisesti ehkä pysähdy miettimään että miksi jokin on sitaatti ja miksi jokin on epäsuoraa kerrontaa, että se tulee aika intuitiivisesti sitä juttua rakentaessa.

Journalists craft numerous quotations every day, and routinisation, that is automatisation, of such practices can undoubtedly make working more efficient and thus make it easier to stay within deadlines. However, routines and procedures, institutionalised routines, can also restrain journalists from challenging, appraising, and perhaps even from improving their work practices (e.g. Gravengaard and Rimestad 2016: 293–295; Gynnild 2007: 88–89). Taking into account that informant-journalists reported in the stimulated recall sessions that they had got almost no instruction on quoting either in their education or during their career, my research findings have the potential to benefit both the elementary studies of journalism as well as in-service training.

Since quoting turned out to be a highly situation-dependent activity, there is hardly any one-size-fits-all solution to offer. Therefore, it is crucial to become aware of the variety of means to negotiate between the foundational differences of oral and written language use, ethical principles, and the publisher's and audience's expectations. In order to promote this way of thinking, teaching and lecturing have been part of my researcher profile from the very beginning.

3.2.2 Transparency of quoting practices

Established broadcast media publishers and professional journalists are still – even in today's convergent mediascape – powerful actors in the building of people's world views. At the same time, laypeople are provided with next to no information about actual journalistic practices. For example, if Finnish readers want to familiarise themselves with some principles as to how the pieces of journalism in the Finnish mediascape are made, *Journalistin ohjeet* [Guidelines for Journalists] is the only official and publicly available document. *Journalistin ohjeet* (2014) is a set of guidelines drafted specifically for the purpose of self-regulation, and as far as quoting is concerned, these guidelines offer no explicit instructions. The only point (ibid. point 8) that naturally – though in a very generalised manner – also applies to quoting reads, "[t]he journalist must aim to provide *truthful* information".[18] The same lack of clarity also applies to ethical guidelines in other countries (see 1.2.1).

From the audience's and lay-citizen's side of the issue, I argue that the question of the truthfulness of quotations is, to a great extent, a question of the *transparency* of the principles of work practices, and this also applies to journalism in general.[19] Conversely, non-transparency of quoting practices can lead to striking consequences, as demonstrated in the end of Article IV: The practice of monologisation in the news coverage of a gang rape together with the misleading follow-up column substantially affected the public discourse regarding the credibility of the police. This event expanded into a long-lasting and nationwide news topic. However, once again I argue that seemingly minor and insignificant articles also affect the status quo as much as grandiose news events (cf. 1.4.2).

I will support this point with the help of a recent news article that is not part of my research data described in Chapter 2. The 'clickbait'[20] news item dealing with taxes on bottle deposits was followed by a widespread social media discussion which showed, in my view, alarming deficiencies in the media literacy

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[18] The Finnish version of this response reads "[j]ournalistin velvollisuus on pyrkiä totuudenmukaiseen tiedonvälitykseen", which might have a slightly different meaning on close reading. Both language versions are provided by the Council of Mass Media on their website www.jsn.fi.
[19] I owe this insight to my colleague, a researcher of photography, Hanna Weselius, who was commenting on journalistic photos.
[20] A colloquial term, *clickbait* refers to web material with an alluring – and sometimes slightly misleading – headline that through word choice and phrasing may entice a potential reader to click on the headline and access the story, thus increasing the website's view count.

skills of the audience. I use this news event to show the applicability of my research findings, namely that *a comprehensive conception of quoting* could help to uncover and explain certain journalistic practices.

In July 2016, a Finnish regional newspaper published an online news article dealing with the taxation of deposits received from bottles and cans collected from the street. Below is my English translation of the beginning of the news article, which is then followed by the Finnish original.

> **Taxes must be paid on deposits received from bottles collected from the street, unreported income is subject to back taxes** [headline]
>
> Income tax should be paid on deposits received from bottles and cans collected from the street, says senior tax inspector Petri Manninen from the tax administration.
>
> "Income received from collecting bottles is normal taxable income, which should be reported in one's tax return."
>
> However, self-purchased bottles can be returned to collection points tax-free.
>
> Unreported income can result in back taxes, Manninen informs. The size of this kind of punitive tax increase depends on the amount that has been left untaxed.
>
> **No Statistics** [subheading]
>
> According to Manninen, tax administration does not have any specific statistics as to how much of the income received from bottle collecting is reported to tax authorities.
>
> "Investigating this is not our main focus."
>
> (…)

> **Kaduilta kerätyistä pullopanteista on maksettava veroa, jälkivero uhkaa ilmoittamattomista tuloista** [Otsikko]
>
> Kaduilta kerättävistä pantillisista pulloista ja tölkeistä saatavista tuloista pitäisi maksaa ansiotuloveroa, verohallinnon ylitarkastaja Petri Manninen kertoo.
>
> ”Pullojen keräämisestä saatu tulo on aivan normaalia veronalaista ansiotuloa, joka pitäisi ilmoittaa veroilmoituksella.”
>
> Omat pullot saa kuitenkin palauttaa verovapaasti palautuspisteisiin.
>
> Ilmoittamatta jääneestä tulosta voi joutua maksamaan jälkiveroa, Manninen kertoo. Mahdollisen veronkorotuksen suuruus riippuu siitä, kuinka suuri summa on jäänyt verottamatta.
>
> **Ei tilastoja** [väliotsikko]
>
> Mannisen mukaan verohallinnolla ei ole erillisiä tilastoja siitä, kuinka paljon verottajalle ilmoitetaan panteista saatuja tuloja.
>
> ”Tämän tutkiminen ei ole painopisteitämme.”
>
> (…)

Once the news article was published, it was soon cited (mainly reproduced) by several eminent Finnish media institutions. As expected, this news item raised a great deal of discussion. For example, the comment section of a certain afternoon tabloid collected more than 1 200 comments on the topic. The issue was also widely (and wildly) discussed in several online discussion forums and social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter.

Based on the discussion, the article perhaps resulted in reinforcing the fashionable and socially accepted antipathy towards bureaucracy. Given the plethora of posts, I could not skim through all of them, but a random sample of the commentary indicated the common sentiment that the greedy Finnish tax authorities had gone mad in chasing bottle collectors who would get a punitive tax in return for their important cleaning work. I argue that with the aid of a comprehensive conception of quoting, we are able to draw a different and more truthful kind of conclusion on this subject matter.

To begin with, there is nothing newsworthy in this news. First of all, the basis of income tax legislation is that all income, including returning bottles for their deposits, is taxable as long as it is not specifically classified as tax-free income. No alteration in legislation or in tax administration guidelines had happened – a fact that remained unaddressed in the article. Secondly, the very same "sensation" was also brought out in Finnish mass and social media in July 2011, so there was hardly anything worth bringing into public discussion. However, publishing the issue as a news article invited readers to search for something newsworthy in it. Moreover, the propositional content could easily have been given by the journalist-narrator himself, but instead, Senior Tax Inspector Manninen is "brought to the podium" to tell about it, both by means of direct and indirect quoting. Such personalisation also adds ostensible importance to the issue (e.g. Haapanen 2011. See also Article II).

In the absence of any kind of recording of the original interview with Mr. Manninen, there is no basis for us to review the linguistic modifications or the changes in the structure of the interaction between the journalist and Manninen that the quoted discourse might have gone through. However, in the light of the comprehensive conception of quoting provided above (3.1.1), I argue that the isolation of Manninen's responses from the surrounding context of the journalist's questions makes both direct and indirect quoting sound very strict and informative. However, we can only speculate as to the kind of impression these utterances created in their original interview context. Additionally, due to the monologisation of Manninen's comments and their positioning at the very beginning of the news article, the impression that Manninen had been a kind of initiator in this news-making process is created. This is most likely not true, since, from the perspective of the tax authorities, no new information about tax policy was being released.

In the headline, the close proximity of propositions about taxes and back taxes naturally links these issues together. Due to monologisation and the fact that any journalistic article is an independent story, not an account of the course of an interview, the paragraph dealing with taxes and punitive taxes leaves even the most discerning reader uncertain whether Manninen has originally discussed these issues particularly with respect to bottle deposits, or if he was describing – or, more likely, was asked to describe – general taxation procedures.

In this subsection, I have described the aspects that readers should be aware of to handle today's highly mediatised public discourse. Certainly, the improvement of readers' media literacy skills is an important and desirable progression, but it is, I argue, more like tackling the symptom rather than the cause of the problem. To begin with, the practice of quoting and the treatment of quotations in the taxation case as well as in the gang rape case were hardly an accident or due to an oversight but more likely the outcome of professional journalists' deliberate decision-making. This decision-making, in turn, is not merely an individual and independent piece of craft, but is influenced and governed by the established institutional settings, as my analysis showed. Therefore, should one feel like identifying some responsible stakeholders in the evident contradiction between actual (and sometimes mundane) quoting practices and the high aims of journalism to objectivity and truthfulness, the right direction would be to go "above" the journalists themselves. This is because the observable concrete work practices, which are often automated into routines and furthermore institutionalised into procedures, must meet the publisher's ideological and economic purposes and values on the one hand, and the audience's preferences and points of interest on the other.

3.3 Future directions

In this section, I will propose two lines for future research. The first strives for research-based ethical consideration and practical guidelines for journalistic quoting (3.3.1). Secondly, I wish to broaden the scope. Based on the findings that quoting plays an important role throughout the production processes of traditional, journalistic mass media items, and also importantly in new, social media, I will outline a research framework concerning the ways the social media could – and should – add value to journalists' daily practice (3.3.2).

3.3.1 Rethinking the fundamental basis of quoting

During quoting, journalists modify the to-be-quoted interview discourse in various ways. Based on the data from retrospective verbal protocols (data set 4), I argue that these modifications are often quite understandable and situationally justifiable. However, this does not remove the fact that an evident and severe contradiction still exists between the high aims and the complex reality of journalistic quoting.

Even though the contradiction is realised in daily practices, its reasons are not for journalists themselves to solve. Furthermore, the cause and effect of the contradiction often seem to be organically intertwined. For example, in recent decades the number of media offerings for the audience to select has exploded, and since the audience does not always take the trouble to be that "aware" in their media behaviour, the publishers comply with the audience's interests and compromise their ethical ideals with clickbait journalism and dubious quoting practices. Therefore, I argue for a thorough rethinking of the fundamentals of quoting.

Such a rethinking requires, firstly, to unpack the present state of affairs of quoting by pointing out the possible historical "burden" that might result in contradictions. For example, only in the last half of the 20th century have quotes developed as visually discernible from the rest of the news text (Ekstöm 2006: 30; see also footnote 5). Before then, the switches from the reporter's voice to that of the source could be quite unclearly marked.[21]

Secondly, in the light of the comprehensive conception of quoting suggested in this research, the practice of quoting needs to be seen as a process comprised of several sub-processes; to-be-quoted text is selected and extracted, then positioned in the emerging article, and modified to fit in there. On this basis, I

[21] Such hybrid forms of quoting come close to so-called *free indirect speech*, which has particularly attracted researchers in literature studies (Kalliokoski 2005: 30–36). I argue that especially due to modern journalism's high claims to objectivity, free indirect speech is no longer a common – or even acceptable – manner of discourse representation. However, as my research with access to the original interview discourse has revealed, it is very common that the interviewee's statements are reproduced in quite a verbatim way in the article, but presented as the journalist-narrator's unattributed information (see, e.g. Article III: Example 1). Such manner of newswriting is actually (a type of) free indirect speech, but the interviewee's role in this hybrid is not revealed to the readers.

argue that the nine quoting practices abstracted and conceptualised in this research (2.2.2) could serve as a suitable theoretical framework – detailed enough but not too context-specific – for careful drafting of rethought guidelines on quoting; the guidance should take a stand on each of these quoting (sub-)processes.

Hopefully, such a research-based set of guidelines could facilitate the work, and clarify the position, of journalists in today's convergent mediascape, since "[i]nterviewing methods and quoting techniques have played a central part in what is usually described as the professionalization and/or institutionalization of journalism" (Ekström 2006: 21). Might these guidelines even have some kind of role in restoring the professional appreciation of journalists and the institutional position of journalism? (About the loss of trust in journalistic media in Finland, see T-Media 2015: 28, and internationally, see Cushion 2007: 120.)

3.3.2 Social media as an added value in journalistic writing

Quoting plays a key role in today's highly mediated public discourse (Haapanen and Perrin, forthcoming 2017). However, there seems to be a lack of an integrative description of quoting that reaches beyond the previous medium-focused approaches. Therefore, in order to identify new and emerging quoting practices and cross the boundaries between mass and social media, I have worked with Daniel Perrin on such a schematic description (Haapanen and Perrin, in preparation).

Reflecting the Mediated Social Communication approach (Groth 1960; Fürst, Schönhagen and Bosshart 2015; drawing on key concepts from Wagner 1977), Perrin and I have built our description of quoting on the perception that modern societies allocate space for competing forces to publicly negotiate socially relevant topics in the mass media, and these negotiations are mediated by journalists as forum leaders. In practice, journalists and their editorial teams, firstly, topicalise particular issues and select the key societal forces pertaining to these issues. Secondly, they personalise, or in other words, identify representatives of these social forces and include them in a kind of virtual panel discussion of the emerging media item. Thirdly, journalists quote these representatives.

With the emergence of social media, the concept of quoting has further evolved. Social media contributions also often require the sub-processes of topicalising, personalising and quoting, albeit mostly conducted in a non-collaborative way. However, research has suggested that quoting in the social media also serves new kinds of discursive functions, and therefore Daniel Perrin and I have conceptualised a practice of *socio-quoting* and further divided it into two, namely *paradigmatic* and *syntagmatic* socio-quoting (more in detail, see Haapanen and Perrin, forthcoming 2017: Section 6, and in preparation). In socio-quoting, social media users exploit media items and their quotes in order to socialise, display their staged identity, and connect to other social media users (e.g. Marwick and boyd 2010; Myers 2010; Puschmann 2015; Zappavigna 2012: Chapter 5). In other words, through these emergent forms of quoting, facilitated by the platform architecture of social media, "quoting has taken on a broader role, emphasizing phatic and sociocommunicative aspects in addition to argumentative and information needs [that are predominant in mass media and introduced in Section 1.2.2]" (Puschmann 2015: 36).

Aside from journalists and mass media producers, through socio-quoting laypeople can also have an effect on public discourse, for example, if societal forces and their key players become influenced by social media posts. This effect can then loop back to the mass media by initiating updates of existing media items or by triggering a production process for additional items (Tremayne 2007). Additionally, we argue that this vital intertextuality between social and mass media could also offer numerous advantages from the point of view of the journalist's daily work, and this is the very point we consider an urgent subject matter to focus on (an exhaustive survey as to how journalists exploit social media, see Juntunen 2017).

On the one hand, social media contributions could provide journalists and journalistic media with further information on the subject matter of their articles as well as introduce topical issues and offer novel angles on them.[22] Moreover, social media could provide feedback to the editorial staff regarding whether or not the journalistic material they produce really meets their audience's expectations and reflects their values.

On the other hand, journalists can identify prospective interviewees in the social media, and also build networks around the main topics they follow and cover. In this way, they can easily interact with these experts – something that used to occur in lunch meetings and corridor discussions – without the traditional challenges of availability of time and place.

Based on our research review (e.g. Brandtzaeg *et al.* 2016; Fürst, Schönhagen, and Bosshart 2015: 329 and its references; Larsson and Ihlebæk 2016; Weaver and Willnat 2016), we argue that the potential of the above-described advantages is not yet fully ex-

[22] Kruikemeier and Lecheler (2016) have shown that when journalists get their information from social media, audiences find the reports less credible. However, perhaps this should not be seen as an obstacle but a challenge for journalists to figure out credible ways to articulate the fact-check procedures of information of social media origin.

ploited, although this conclusion might partly derive from methodological deficiencies in identifying and conceptualising these novel practices. Therefore, the relationship between social media and journalistic writing seems to be a relevant field for transdisciplinary research (for transdisciplinary action research, see Perrin 2012) to improve professional journalists' legitimate interplay with social media – in contrast to simple click-baiting and hunting for link shares. Additionally, social media platforms have, unfortunately, enabled disinformation, hate speech, and other similar negative by-products, and as a consequence, some media publishers in Finland, for example, have temporarily closed down their comment sections due to the inappropriate discussions that have arisen. Since transdisciplinary research develops knowledge in collaboration with practitioners, we argue that, for example, designing an active and participatory chairing system for comment sections could help traditional media to manage harmful by-products without turning to undesirable steps to curtail this behaviour (e.g. Lewiński 2010. About the role of design in communication, see Aakhus and Jackson 2014).

I will conclude this Chapter 3, and close the whole Overview of the research, with a bit of nostalgia. Nearly seven years ago, for the final page of my master's thesis (Haapanen 2010: 124), I sketched some daring steps for further research on quoting. Aware of the methodological shortcomings of semi-structured interviews, I wished for a research framework that advanced from *what journalists say they do when quoting,* to *what journalists actually do when quoting* and concluded that "arranging such research would be difficult (…) however, it would not be impossible".

Now, on the final page of the overview on my doctoral dissertation research project, I would like to set out for myself some daring steps for future research on the intertextuality of media discourse. I intend, for example, to examine how editorial staff and specific journalists take into account, participate in, and are influenced by social media when planning, writing, and reviewing their media items. This could lead to identifying and conceptualising a multifaceted array of what is referred to as rich points and best practices. It would be a challenging thing to do, not least from the point of view of methodology. However, it would not be impossible.

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Directly from interview to quotations?
– Quoting practices in written journalism

Lauri Haapanen

1 Introduction

This chapter shifts the perspective from the analysis of the emergence of embodied and spoken interaction to a different channel and temporal dimension of interaction.[1] I will focus on the process of constructing direct quotations in written journalistic articles and offer a unique glance at journalistic work processes. By examining empirical data drawn from Finnish media, we will discover that the ostensibly static text surface connects the spoken interaction between journalists and their interviewees to the pre-planned architecture of the article in the making, and further to the values and purposes of the publication and its publisher.

In general, written quotations are defined as being approximately verbatim repetitions of the original spoken utterances. Theoretically speaking, this is possible: a quotation can be defined in terms of a verbatim representation of the original text, or by faithfulness to it (Short et al. 2002). In other words, a direct quotation would then represent the reported event in a manner that is faithful to the form, content, and speech act value of the original (for example, see Short 1988: 69–71).

This definition also serves as a goal in many practical guidebooks on quoting: "Never alter quotations even to correct minor grammatical errors or word usage." (Goldstein 2009: 232; see also Adams 2001: 80–83; Brooks et al. 2002: 85–86; Kramer & Call 2007: 107–109). However, some guidebooks are not as inflexible

[1] I am grateful especially to Ylva Byrman, Merja Helle, Henna Makkonen-Craig, Maija Töyry and Eero Voutilainen and the editors of this volume for their valuable comments on the different stages of the manuscript and to Elina Sokka for helping me to convey my arguments precisely and grammatically in English.

in their approach. To paraphrase their general views, utterances could and should be merged, edited and cleaned up as long as the factual content is maintained (e.g., Blundell 1988: 148; Ruberg 2005: 123; Töyry et al. 2008: 92–93). Perhaps surprisingly, there are also numerous guidebooks that comment hardly at all on the issue of modifying quotations (e.g., Clark 2006; Flaherty 2009; Jacobi 1991; Lundberg 1992, 2001).[2]

Many countries have established some type of ethical code for journalists. For example, in Europe, such a code exists in at least 46 countries.[3] However, only a handful of codes are related to the practice of quoting at all, and even then, they are very vague. In Finland, *Journalistin ohjeet 2014* [Guidelines for Journalists] does not provide guidelines on quoting practices. However, since the year 2000, the self-regulating committee for Finnish journalism practices, Julkisen sanan neuvosto [Council for Mass Media], has reviewed six cases that mainly concern quoting, and one can extract from the resolutions by the committee their position on quoting: The linguistic form of the "direct" quotations can be edited, several utterances can be emerged into one quotation, and the quotations can be "written" into a scene that is different from the original one, as long as the meaning is retained.[4]

Regardless of these slightly differing guidelines, it can be stated that the foundation of quotations lies in the more or less verbatim repetition of the original utterance – "by using direct quotes, you [the journalist] are telling the readers that you are putting them directly in touch with the speaker" (Brooks et al. 2002: 73). Furthermore, the illusion of being in touch with the original speaker's voice also serves as the basis for the majority of the functions of quotations in journalistic texts. For example, quotations are thought to enhance the reliability, credibility and objectivity of an article and to characterize the person quoted (in research literature, see, e.g., Cotter 2010: 145–151; Haapanen 2011; Nylund 2006: 161. In guidebooks, see, e.g., Blundell 1988: 141–152; Clark 2006: 128–132).

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[2] López Pan (2010) has made a similar review of quoting instructions in the Spanish media. His findings are in line with mine.
[3] The list of ethical codes of journalists http://ethicnet.uta.fi/codes_by_country (visited 1 February, 2017).
[4] Http://www.jsn.fi/. The document numbers of the cases referred to are 5719, 4814, 4239, 4022, 3563, and 3249.

Based on my own decade-long experience as a journalist, I challenge the more or less verbatim-oriented perception of the direct quotations in journalism by suggesting that they are not as “direct” (in the sense of *verbatim*) as is widely assumed and stated. The research presented below is linguistically oriented and attempts to answer two research questions:

> **1.** What types of modifications are made when transferring discourse (= meaningful semiotic human activity[5]) from a journalistic interview to direct quotations in a written journalistic article?
>
> **2.** What is the explanation for these modifications?

These questions are essential, as little is known about actual quoting practices (Clayman 1990: 79; Nylund 2006: 151. For an overview of research, see Haapanen & Perrin 2017).[6] Although the research on quoting in television news has been studied in last two decades (e.g., Ekström 2001; Kroon Lundell & Ekström 2010; Nylund 2003), only two published studies have used relevant empirical data to examine the “directness” of *written* journalistic quotations. Johnson Barella (2005), discovered that in examining spoken data from press conferences and speeches, only one out of five quotations was absolutely verbatim. Overall, the variety of modifications ranged from small to substantial. Lehrer (1989) drew her data from public meetings, hearings and lectures and reported that quotations had often been modified substantially, although these non-verbatim quotations were rarely considered to be incompatible with what was intended (ibid. 120–121).

Without data from the actual spoken event, Méndez García de Paredes (2000) examined the coverage of the same event in different newspapers, while Bruña (1993) focused on the changes made in the phrases that were both in the text body and between quotation marks in the headline. In addition, journalist-researcher Bell (1991) analyzed his own work[7] retrospectively and stated that “de-

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[5] To me, *discourse* comprises all forms of meaningful semiotic human activity in its contexts as a part of social action (see Blommaert 2005: 2–3), contrary to another common (especially in social sciences) definition of *a discourse* as ‘a consistent use of language in a given field of social practice’ (eg., *political discourse*, *feminist discourse*, *medical discourse*, etc.).

[6] More generally, the recontextualization of oral discourse into written form has been studied within several domains such as police interrogation / report (e.g., Jönsson & Linell 1991; van Charldorp 2014), meeting / minutes (e.g., Nissi & Lehtinen 2015) and parliament talk / record (e.g., Voutilainen 2016).

[7] It should be mentioned that Bell “recorded” his interviews only by taking notes. See my discussion of recording practices in the subsection entitled Monologization of the interview.

pronominalization [replacing the pronoun with the noun it is referring to] is one of the few tamperings I would permit with a direct quote: otherwise it should remain verbatim what the source said." Some perceptions of the veracity of quotations without empirical data or with only limited empirical data are also presented by Caldas-Coulthard (1993; 1994), Cotter (2010), Kuo (2007), Satoh (2001), Short (1988), Tuchman (1978) and Waugh (1995).

The rest of the paper consists of three main sections. First, I introduce the subdiscipline of applied linguistics referred to as media linguistics and then establish the theoretical foundations for the practice of quoting and the interplay of *form* and *meaning*. In addition, I present my data and the methods of analysis. Second, the empirical analysis forms the main part of the paper, and it is divided into four subsections. In the final part, I will present the summary of the findings and my conclusion.

2 Framework, data and methods

As journalistic media constitute a socially significant area of activity whose language use can differ from the use in other areas, this paper can be situated as a part of an emerging subdiscipline of applied linguistics, referred to as media linguistics. (*Media Linguistics Research Network 2016*; Perrin 2013a; 2013b). When addressing the research questions of media linguistics, it is necessary to utilize concepts and theories from neighboring disciplines, such as journalism studies and sociology. Furthermore, media linguistics programmatically focuses on the production process, because "[m]edia discourse continues to be predominantly investigated from a product-oriented [vs. process-oriented] perspective or even as easily accessible everyday language" (*Media Linguistics Research Network 2016*) and because "lack of attention to the news production process is bound to generate weak hypotheses" (NewsTalk&Text Research Group 2011: 1843–1844).

This section consists of three subsections. First, I will present an overview of quoting from the perspective of a dialogistic theoretical framework. I will then introduce the data and methods. Third, I will discuss the notion of media concept, which will be used to structure and relate my results to the wider picture in the process of producing journalistic articles.

2.1 Quoting and recontextualization

Journalistic guidebooks discuss the correspondence between the original utterance and the quotation based on terms of *form* and *meaning*, but they do not explain form or meaning in any detail. I argue that these two concepts have been used in an overly simplistic way.

First, despite language-related conventions governing how sound waves are presented as ink graphemes on paper, several features of oral communication do not have any absolute equivalence in writing. Thus, in terms of linguistic form the relationship between the original utterance and the quotation is always somewhat deficient. Second, the term of meaning is also loosely defined, as it can be understood either from a semantic or a pragmatic point of view. To analyze the form or the meaning of language in use within the dialogistic theoretical framework, a third component is needed: *contexts*. According to the *theory of contexts* (Linell 1998a; 1998b), utterance (≈ linguistic form), understanding (≈ situated meaning) and contexts (of which Linell prefers to use the plural form[8]), comprise an organic whole; they arise from each other, they will be interpreted against each other, and they renew and modify each other. Linell describes this reciprocal dependence as follows (1998a: 139):

> • Understanding is understanding-of-discourse-in-contexts.
>
> • Utterances are expressions-of-understandings-in-contexts.
>
> • Contexts are partly products and projects of sense-making activities, of producing-and-understanding-discourse-in-prior-contexts.

Within the production of newspaper and magazine articles, the contexts change drastically when information is drawn from a spoken face-to-face interview and used in a written print or screen-based publication. Thus, if we endeavor to assess whether the form is "direct" (= *verbatim*) or the meaning is "direct" (= *equivalent*), it is necessary to examine and compare the original (interview) and the final (quotation) discourses in their separate contexts. The process of quoting can be analyzed and described by applying the concept of *recontextualization*. Recontextualization is defined by Linell as the "dynamic transfer-and-transformation"

[8] Linell prefers the plural form *contexts* to the singular form *context* because the given piece of discourse is not embedded within, nor does it activate, only one particular context, but a matrix of different types of contexts. Furthermore, Linell speaks of *contextual resources* because no context is a context by itself but it can be made into an actual, relevant context through the activities of the interlocutors. (See Linell 1998a: 128–134.)

of some part or aspect from one discourse to another (Linell 1998a: 154). Linell also observes that, "[w]hen parts of texts or discourses are relocated through recontextualization, they are often subject to textual change, such as simplification, condensation, elaboration and refocusing" (ibid. 155). As a consequence, the process of quoting requires reconciling the contradictions that are necessarily created by the changes in contexts.[9]

When recontextualizing journalistic interview discourse, the most obvious contextual change will occur between the oral and the written modality of language. Whereas oral language is auditory, evanescent and primarily temporally structured, written language is visual, enduring and spatially organized (for example, see Wold 1992: 176–180). However, the significant variable in transferring discourse from an interview into quotations is not this modal dichotomy *per se*. Instead, the dichotomy results from the spoken and written language being used in different communicative situations, and further, that each of these particular situations affects the textual features of the discourse. As a consequence, no linguistic or situational characterization of speech and writing can be generalized for all spoken and written genres. (Biber 1988.)

For these reasons, the relation within and among journalistic interviews and articles in written media is complex and associated with a variety of different situational, functional, and processing considerations. Formulating direct quotations therefore involves addressing not only the disparity between spoken and written language, but also the involved contexts. Thus, recontextualizing a form and/or meaning from one context (= oral face-to-face interview) to another (= particular part in a particular article in a particular written medium) is not a mechanical and systematic operation. Instead, recontextualization is a dynamic and highly situation-dependent operation, involving numerous aspects that need to be taken into account. For these reasons, the recontextualized discourse is, at its best, an *illusion* of spoken discourse, rather than the true and concrete equivalence of it. This illusion is often created with only a selection of vernacular cues instead of fully mimicking an original discourse (Makkonen-Craig 1999), and these particular vernacular cues and other aspects of oral discourse are selected for a quotation

[9] On recontextualization, see also Sarangi 2008, cf. entextualisation Bauman & Briggs 1990; Blommaert 2005. See also Rock 2007: 22–23 for an exhaustive list of complementary concepts for such a repetition-related phenomenon.

to meet the rhetorical purpose of the person who is making that quotation (Haapanen in press 2017; Clark & Gerrig 1990; Wade & Clark 1993).[10]

Thus, it can be concluded that even those journalists who do aim for identical representation of form and/or meaning in their quoting – and think that it is achievable – are bound to fail due to the difference in context. This conclusion is contrary to the guidance and perceptions offered in guidebooks, but it will be supported by the data analyzed in this paper.

2.2 Data and methods

To address my research questions, I have collected three types of empirical data: The recordings of authentic interviews conducted by journalists; the published articles based on these interviews; and stimulated recall sessions with some of the above-mentioned journalists. Stimulated recall is a method used here to retrospectively explore and explain the journalists' motivations and strategies for making[11] quotations. Let us introduce the data and the analytical methods.

The *first data set* consists of 20 recordings of authentic journalistic interviews and press conferences from 16 experienced journalists (henceforth *informant-journalists*) who worked for various established publications as full-time employees or as freelancers. I asked the journalists to record one or two interviews, but I did not disclose the exact objective of this study. I also received permission to copy the notebooks of the journalists who took notes by hand. The length of the interviews varied tremendously, ranging from 1 minute 48 seconds to 1 hour 45 minutes.

For my *second data set*, I collected the articles that were based on the interviews and press conferences of the first data set. To facilitate analyzing the visual elements of the collected articles, they remained in their published layout. The total

[10] The Finnish language is ideal for using vernacular cues to create this illusion. This is because Finnish has a direct one-to-one relationship between the spelling and the sound and hence one can mimic special pronunciation in detail (e.g., *minä*, *mä*, *mää*, *mnää*, *mie* are dialectal variations for the pronoun 'I').

[11] I prefer the verb *making* over *writing* when dealing with the production-process of an article. This term emphasizes that the inscription is merely a minor stage in the work process compared to activities such as planning and information-gathering.

number of the articles[12], was 21, and they were from newspapers, magazines, customer magazines ("B-to-C magazines") and web-publications. Each of the data examples presented in this paper originates from a different medium.

Data sets 1 and 2 were both collected from Finnish media and they are originally in the Finnish language. My transcriptions of the interviews are simplified versions of conventional conversation analysis transcription.[13] The precision of transcriptions is guided by appropriateness of my analysis. The English translations are not verbatim, but strive for idiomaticity and intelligibility. When referring to either data set 1 or 2, the number of the example is followed by letter "a" (=interview) or "b" (=published article), respectively. Letter "c" refers to a notebook source. In the transcripts I made, unless otherwise mentioned, the abbreviation "IN" refers to "interviewee" and "JO" to "journalist [interviewer]."

Data sets 1 and 2 are analyzed according to *comparative linguistic text analysis* (cf. Arffman 2007: 112–113 and *version analysis*, Perrin 2013b: 62). In this context, *text analysis* refers to the description and interpretation of both the form and content of the discourses. *Linguistic* refers to the point that the focus of investigation is not only on the discourse as a textual whole, but also more specifically on its linguistic level, on the words and clauses in their co-text. The term *comparative* emphasizes that the analysis examines neither the original discourse (data set 1), nor the final discourse (data set 2) *per se*, but instead compares the two with each other in order to detect any discrepancies between them.

The *third data set* consists of so-called *stimulated recall* sessions (SR) (DiPardo 1994).[14] Traditionally, an SR begins with videotaping a selected informant at work, after which s/he is asked to view and comment on the video. The method reconstructs the informants' thought processes while they worked. For example, compared to semi-structured interviews, SR extends beyond a recitation of so-

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[12] The inconsistency between the number of recordings and the number of articles comes from the fact that there are two journalists in my data set who wrote an article on the same press conference.

[13] For transcription symbols, see p. [not included in this preprint version].

[14] The SR has been most frequently used in the analysis of learning processes, interpersonal skills and decision-making in the field of educational, medical/clinical and second-language research (for an overview, see Lyle 2003: 862–863), but it has also been applied to media research (for example, see Rautkorpi 2011). For a discussion of the selection of methodology and the course of my SR sessions in detail, see Haapanen (in press 2017).

cially valorized practices (Haapanen in press 2017) and encourages that the "informants discuss actions that they actually engaged in during ongoing interactions, not idealized actions they might or should take, or actions that they imperfectly remembered taking" (Dempsey 2010: 351).

When applying this method, I first localized and transcribed a section or sections from an interview that the specific quotation was based on. Then, in the SR, the informant-journalist and I read her/his article (data set 2) along with the transcript made of the original interview (data set 1). My main objective was to account for her/his writing strategies and conscious writing practices when formulating quotations, and to demonstrate how institutional framing affects quoting activities.[15] Some of the questions presented in the SRs were as follows: How do you describe your process of quoting in this particular case? Why did you do it this way? Why did you select this particular segment to be quoted? Why did you position the quotation in this particular place? Why did you edit the quoted material in this way? What influenced the process?

I conducted an SR with 11 of the 16 informant-journalists from data set 1. In this paper, I quote explicitly 7 of these SRs (11 excerpts, numbered I–XI in order of appearance). The quoted excerpts are included in the appendix in their entirety. The SRs were conducted in Finnish; the English translations are my own.

To explain the modifications revealed by the text analysis of data sets 1 and 2 and justified by informant-journalists in SR sessions, I exploit the notion of *media concept*, which is a theoretical modeling of the process of creating a media product (for further detail, see the next subsection). By connecting the results from the analysis of all three data sets into this modeling, I can explain these observable activities of the quoting process as parts in the broader contexts of production (cf. Layder 1993: 51).

All data sets were collected during 2012–2014. All the data examples in this analysis (from data sets 1–3) are anonymized, and I will consistently use the feminine pronoun regardless of the gender of the person in question.

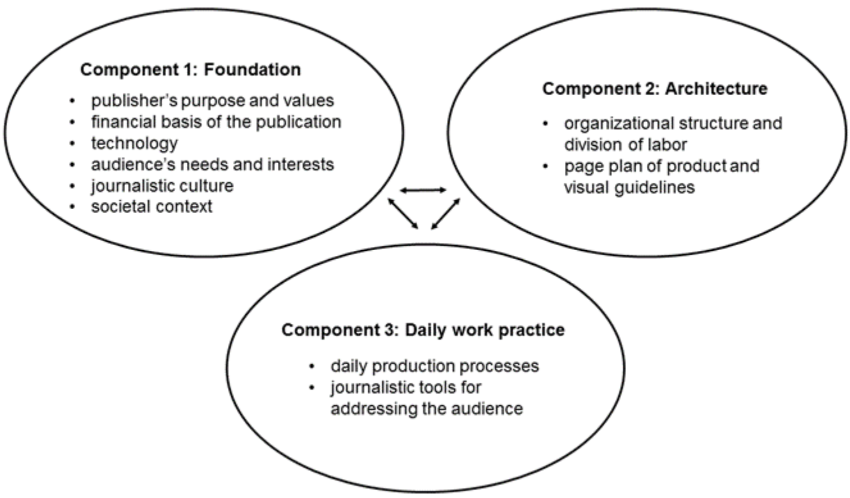
[15] For a similar approach, *cue-based retrospective verbal protocol* for studying process of newswriting, see Perrin 2013b: 63–64.

2.3 The notion of media concept

The notion of *media concept* was formulated by the Finnish journalism scholars Merja Helle and Maija Töyry. This concept is based on the cultural-historical activity theory and developmental work research (Cole 1996; Engeström 1987; Virkkunen 2006). It looks at any human activity as activity system that includes the subject, object of activity, tools, rules, community and division of labor. Thus, also journalistic work is not merely an individual or independent craft but is heavily influenced by the external and internal contexts of the work process. The media concept is an extension of an activity system adapted to media research (Helle 2010; Helle & Töyry 2009). It can be used as a tool for analyzing and developing media products, and for understanding their use. In linguistic research the media concept has been used to compare the relationship between the intended aims of journalists and the journalistic texts produced (Jaakola et al. 2014).

The media concept introduces and organizes relevant extra-linguistic contexts and contextual resources that affect the process of creating any specific media product. The three components of the media concept are mutually constitutive and closely intertwined:

Figure 1. Components of a media concept (based on Helle & Töyry 2009: 502).



Component 1 of the media concept consists of the publisher's values and purpose and the financial basis of the publication. Values can be financial or ideological,

whereas the purpose could refer to maximal profit, dissemination of ideology, or wide circulation versus a precise target group. The financial basis could consist of subscription fees, advertising revenue and/or subsidies from some interest group. In addition, Component 1 includes the needs and interests of the desired audience, the journalistic culture, as well as the societal context. Journalistic culture refers to the close socio-cultural context in which all the persons involved in this particular activity (that is, creating a media product) operate. Societal context refers to the rules and regulations as to what kinds of media can exist and be consumed.

Component 2 consists of what is referred to as the *architecture of the whole*. This architecture is usually rather stable and formalized from issue-to-issue. This component can be described as a “template” to achieve the values and purpose of Component 1, and it can be considered from the perspectives of both the organization and content. The organizational architecture includes the management and production principles and the division of labor (for example, a regular employee versus a freelancer, or an individual versus co-operational work process). The architecture of the content refers to the fact that each media product usually has more or less standardized structure for presenting content (for example, the specific combination of article types in certain order, fixed visual guidelines) and explicitly determined targets and instructions for each article type[16] for the editorial office.

Component 3 comprises the daily production processes and practices through which the “template” is implemented. This is the “hands-on” level, where the concrete decisions, such as considering how the communicative means (entertaining, informative, persuasive and/or commenting) are achieved to meet the purpose of the publisher, probable contradictory aims (of editorial, advertising and circulation departments, etc.) are negotiated, and the interviews, writing, ed-

[16] Helle & Töyry (2009) employ the term *story type* (in Finnish *juttutyyppi*). They use it as a broad tool for analyzing and developing journalistic content and editorial processes. It is determined not only by a designated *article type* (news, profile, investigative reporting, etc.), but also the visual design both within the scope of a single article and the structure of a publication as a whole. (See also Töyry et al. 2008.) However, because the term is not yet firmly established-outside the Finnish mediascape, in this paper I employ the term *article type* in its traditional meaning as it serves my needs better.

iting, and layout design are created. Contrary to the stable and formalized Component 2, the daily practices of the editorial staff *may* vary in terms of which journalist is assigned to write a particular article and how the gathering of information is conducted, and also *should* vary (for instance, topics, viewpoints, and interviewees) to sustain the readers' interest and thus ensure their loyalty to the particular media product.

3 From verbatim quoting to substantial modifications

The first subsection examines cases that contain a quotation that is the closest to verbatim quoting in my collection. Subsequently, cases will be presented that contain discrepancies between the original and final discourses on two levels, one linguistic and the other, textual. The third subsection will focus on one particular strategy for making quotations: when the journalist's words in the interview have been quoted as the interviewee's own words in the article. Finally, I will analyze the manner in which the interactional nature of an interview is "monologized" into written quotations. I will also analyze the way in which the manner of documenting an interview (for example, note-taking by hand versus tape-recording) influences the formulation of quotes.

In every subsection, I will present either one or two data examples. These have been selected to be not only representative examples of the phenomenon under examination, but also to be representative examples of the data. At the beginning of every subsection, I will analyze the (possible) modifications that have been made when the discourse has been transferred from an original context into the final one. I will then propose reasons for these modifications drawn on stimulated recall sessions and relate these reasons to the notion of media concept.

3.1 Verbatim quoting

This subsection focuses on the occurrence of verbatim quoting in my data. Example (1) is from a prominent Finnish newspaper, and the interviewee in this article is the President of Finland, Sauli Niinistö.[17] This interview was conducted on a one-on-one basis and the topic referred to as the *child issue* with Russia was

[17] In this example I mention the identity of the interviewee as an exception, because it is essential for my analysis. However, this does not risk the anonymity of the journalist.

a current topic at that time[18]. The original interview consisted of three questions that were asked and answered one-by-one. Before posing her questions, the journalist summarized the situation in that Russia would impose an embargo against Finland if the country did not agree to make a bilateral child agreement with Russia. The first question-answer sequence (ex. 1a) concerned the president's response to the Russian government on the issue.

Example (1a) [Child Agreement, transcript, IN = President of Finland Sauli Niinistö]

01 JO:	((…)) miten vakavana asiana pidätte tätä ja ((…)) how serious do you consider this matter to be and
02	miten aiotte vastata tähän asiaan how are you going to respond this matter
03 IN:	no minun tehtäväni ei ole vastata well it is not my role to answer
04	vaan päinvastoin (2.0) öö me olemme öö but on the contrary (2.0) um we have um
05	ulkoministeri Lavrovin vierailun yhteydessä (.) during the visit of Foreign Minister Lavrov (.)
06	keskustelleet (.) siitä (.) Venäjän ehdotuksesta ja discussed (.) this (.) Russia's proposal and
07	ne olisivat tällaisen komission kannalla (.) they would be in favor of this kind of commission (.)
08	<meidän> ehdotuksemme on ollut että (.) viranomaiset harrastavat our proposal has been that (.) the authorities engage in
09	mahdollisimman pitkälle menevää yhteistyötä (.) as extensive cooperation as possible (.)

[18] The "child issue" was an accusation made by Russia against Finland in the autumn of 2012 regarding the treatment of Russian citizens in Finland.

10 <ja muuten> (.) juuri viime viikolla
and by the way (.) just last week

11 ennen tähän- tämän kohun nousua (.) Suomesta (.)
before there- this issue came up (.) Finland (.)

12 lähetettiinkin (.) tällainen yhteyshenkilö (.)
sent (.) this type of contact person (.)

13 tiedosto Venäjän viranomaisille (.)
file to the Russian authorities (.)

14 JO: selvä
right

Example (1b) [Child Agreement, published]

> (…). Miten vakavana asiaa pidätte ja mitä siihen vastaatte Astahoville?
>
> ”Minun tehtäväni ei ole vastata. Päinvastoin, olemme ulkoministeri (Sergei) Lavrovin vierailun yhteydessä keskustelleet Venäjän ehdotuksesta, jossa he olisivat tällaisen komission kannalla. Meidän ehdotuksemme on ollut, että viranomaiset harrastavat mahdollisimman pitkälle menevää yhteistyötä. Muuten viime viikolla juuri ennen tämän kohun nousua Suomesta lähetettiin tällainen yhteyshenkilötiedosto Venäjän viranomaisille.”
>
> (…). How serious do you consider the matter to be and what are you going to answer Astahov?
>
> ”It is not my role to answer. On the contrary, during the visit of Foreign Minister (Sergei) Lavrov, we have discussed Russia’s proposal in which they would be in favor of this kind of commission. Our proposal has been that the authorities engage in as extensive cooperation as possible. By the way, last week, just before this issue came up, Finland sent this type of contact person file to the Russian authorities.”

The entire interview proceeded smoothly and lasted less than two minutes. The questions had been carefully planned in advance, and the published article retains the same question-answer-structure. In addition, both the questions and the answers are presented in the article.[19]

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[19] However, the questions do not have quotation marks around them, which is a common convention in the written media field. Additionally, it is worth mentioning that the question sequences in the interview actually consisted of three turns: The journalist’s question, the interviewee’s answer, and the journalist’s feedback [line 14: selvä, ‘right’]. This three-part

At first glance, the published quotation seems highly faithful to the original utterance. The linguistic form is predominantly verbatim, and the uniformity of the situational meaning is also preserved, with the discourse being an answer to (nearly) the same question both in the interview and in the article. A facile explanation for the "directness" is the status of the speaker – who would dare to alter the speech of the president (see, e.g., Davis 1985: 47; Bell 1991: 205; Satoh 2001: 189). I will argue, however, that this is not the primary reason for the directness of this quotation. Let us now focus on this quotation in more detail.

Perhaps the most conspicuous differences pertain to the rhythm of the discourses. The Finnish president had pauses and twice a quiet *öö,* 'um,' sound (line 4) that occurred between his words, but these features have not been preserved in the quotation. This solution is predictable and obvious because language features of this type are almost always ignored in published texts. Moreover, there are few established marking conventions for these language features in journalistic publications. Some other alterations have also been made in the quoted passage, as demonstrated in the following extracts i–iv (taken from example 1):

[This space has been intentionally left blank.]

---

exchange is very typical in my first data set (= the recordings of journalistic interviews). However, in journalistic articles, this turn-taking system is simplified by frequently omitting the follow-up, as in example (1), and often the question is likewise left out (similarly, see Caldas-Coulthard 1993: 199–202; Makkonen-Craig 2014: section 4). Similarly in television news productions, "[a]nswers are routinely divorced from the questions that elicited them" (Ekström 2001: 570).

Table 1. Comparative analysis of interview and published quotations in example (1).

	Interview	**Published quotations**
(i)	…yhteistyötä (.) <ja muuten> (.) juuri viime viikolla… *cooperation (.) <and by the way> (.) just last week*	…yhteistyötä. Muuten viime viikolla juuri… *cooperation as possible. By the way, last week, just*
(ii)	…vastata vaan päinvastoin… *to answer but on the contrary*	…vastata. Päinvastoin… *to answer. On the contrary*
(iii)	… (.) Venäjän ehdotuksesta ja ne olisivat… *Russia's proposal and they would be*	…Venäjän ehdotuksesta, jossa he olisivat… *Russia's proposal in which they would be*
(iv)	…ennen tähän- tämän kohun… *before there- this issue*	…ennen tämän kohun… *before this issue*

In (i), a change occurs in the word order (the place of *juuri,* 'just,'). Additionally, the connectives *ja*, 'and,' in (i) and *vaan*, 'but,' in (ii) have been omitted from the published quotations, and instead, a sentence boundary has been inserted. The syntax of spoken language differs from the syntax of written language, and the connectives and other similar features are also used differently in speech than in writing: For example, spoken language frequently uses connectives to join utterances solely to create a link between utterances on a pragmatic basis (e.g., Laury 2008). By deleting these speech-like features in the published quotations, the utterances resemble the standard written language more closely, and this reaffirms the formal register pursued in the article. Similarly, in (iii), the connective *ja*, 'and,' has been replaced by a more explicitly subordinating connective *jossa*, 'in which.' The writing here needs to be more linearly explicit, because the information structure of written discourse must be marked by grammatical means, whereas spoken discourse can also utilize prosody and paralinguistic means (Biber 1988: 38).

Another alteration in (iii) worth mentioning is the replacing of the personal pronoun *ne*, 'they', with *he*, 'they', in the quotation. According to the norms of Standard Finnish, the third-person pronouns *hän* and *h*e, 's/he and they,' are the only accepted pronouns to refer to humans. However, in colloquial Finnish, the demonstrative pronouns *se* and *ne*, 'it and they,' are typically used for third-person human references. In this light, the president's choice of pronoun would have created a strong impression of informality in the written quotation. Especially in this type of "fact-based" news article, the pronoun *ne* would be startling and draw attention to irrelevant associations, whereas in some other article type, such as *a profile article,* these types of word choices could serve a characterizing function (see Haapanen 2011: 78–79). In a similar manner, the president's self-correction in (iv) has been "cleaned up." Although self-repairs are common and inconspicuous in spoken interaction, they are eye-catching and very distinctive in written formats.

I propose that the main reason for the almost verbatim representation of the discourse in example (1) is not the respectful attitude towards the person quoted (although naturally, the premise of journalists is to respect their interviewees), but that the president was well prepared to respond to questions on a current topic, something I also observed while working as a press officer in the Office of the President at the time of this interview. In other words, the president had already generally formulated his answers prior to the interview. Due to this, his utterances – even though not written down – sound rather formal and thus meet the intended linguistic formality of quotations in this type of news article. [20]

In terms of the media concept, the planning and conducting of the interview as well as the writing of the article in example (1) belong to Component 3 (= the daily production processes and practices). However, the simple and straightforward course of the concrete production process was due to the fact that the inter-

[20] I also have a second interview with President Niinistö in my data. For this interview, he did not have the opportunity to be prepared for the topic and questions, and the "unscriptedness" results in some complexity in his utterances. As a consequence, the linguistic form of the quotations was modified more on this occasion.

view and the intended linguistic formality of the article – the "template" of Component 2 (= the architecture of the whole) – happened to correspond to each other. However, the spoken-like linkage between clauses in extracts (i, ii and iii), the choice of a pronoun in (iii), and the self-correction in (iv) do not fit that frame, and thus they have been "amended."

In this particular case, the quotations were extremely verbatim apart from some minor modifications. In other words, example (1b) is a *direct quotation* in the manner prescribed by the journalistic field. In this light, it is interesting that only few quotations in my data are as close to the spoken utterance in the interview as this example. Additionally, it is important to note that in many cases, the modifications made to one quotation vary extensively. In other words, some part of the quotation can be verbatim, whereas another part can be substantially modified.

3.2 Discrepancies in linguistic composition

This subsection addresses the differences in the data between the original and the final discourses in terms of linguistic features. I illustrate this variation with example (2) from an interview and a broad profile article based on it, published in a culture-oriented magazine. The interviewee is a Finnish actress who describes her first impressions of a large film studio.

Example (2a) [Film Studio, transcript] (IN=Interviewee / JO=Journalist.)

01 IN:	(.) kiehtoo et on ne samat (.)		
	(.) it's fascinating that there are the same (.)		
02	<u>jätti</u>mäiset studiorakennukset mihin rakennetaan sisälle		[sit
	<u>gigan</u>tic studio buildings where they build inside		[then
03 JO:			[mm mm
			[mm mm
04 IN:	kokonaiset metsät	[ja	
	whole forests	[and	
05 JO:		[joo	
		[yeah	

06 IN:	ja (.) kylät	
	and (.) villages	
07 JO:	((naurua))	
	((laughter))	
08 IN:	jotka £sit	[poltetaan
	that are £then	[burned down
09 JO:		[((naurua))
		[((laughter))
10 IN:	nii oli ihan sellai£ pyörryttävää et yhtäkkii menee (.)	
	so that it was kinda like£ too much that all of a sudden ((you)) go ((there)) (.)	
11	kun siel oli se kyläkin joka oli semmonen? (.)	
	because there's this village, which was like (.)	
12	<mitä mä sanoisin (.) minkä torin kokone se ois>	
	well, how would I put it (.) what size of market place it would be	
13	>varmaan tommonen< (.) ää (.) Hietsun kirppiksen [kokonen alue (.)	
	probably like maybe (.) um (.) an area the size of the Hietsu flea market	
14 JO:	[joo joo	
	[yeah yeah	
15 IN:	se oltiin niinku (.) öö (.) ulkopuolelta se näytti	
	it had been like (.) um (.) from the outside it looked	
16	vaan sellaselt laudotetulta alueelta? (.) ja sit kun sinne astuu sisään (.)	
	only like a boarded up area (.) and then when you go in (.)	
17	niin siellä oli kokonainen semmone	
	then there was like a whole	
18 JO:	joo	
	yeah	

19 IN:	kylä (.) ties miltä luvulta a village (.) who knows from what period
20 JO:	((naurua)) ((laughter))
21 IN:	koska se oli vähän niinku luvuton because it was a little like out of no period
22 JO:	joo yeah
23 IN:	toi (.) aikakausi (.) nii sitä et (.) et (.) et (.) that (.) era (.) so that (.) that (.) that (.)
24	joo et on se noin kivaa kun on rahaa ((nauraen puhuttu)) yeah so it's real nice when you have money ((spoken with laughter))
25 JO:	((naurua)) ((laughter))
26 IN:	tehä (.) niinku ihan mitä vaan että (.) to do (.) like whatever that (.)

Based on the interview above, the journalist produced the following quotation.

Example (2b) [Film Studio, published]

> Ensimmäiset päivät studiolla olivat huikeita.
>
> ”Kun näki ne jättimäiset rakennukset ja niiden sisällä kulisseiksi rakennetut kokonaiset kylät ja metsät, jotka lopuksi poltetaan, siinä mietti, että kiva kun on niin paljon rahaa, että voi tehdä mitä vaan. Siellä oli Hietsun kirppiksen kokoinen kylä.”
>
> The first days at the studio were fantastic.
>
> ”When you saw those gigantic buildings and inside of them entire villages and forests built as sets, which are in the end burned down, you were thinking that it's great to have so much money that you can do whatever you want. There was a village the size of the Hietsu flea market.”

The interview and the quotation display substantial discrepancies, as I will explain later in this subsection. In other words, the original discourse has been modified extensively during the quotation-making process. In terms of the media concept, these concrete acts belong to Component 3, the daily production process comprising the planning and conducting of the interview and the writing of the article. Nonetheless, it is evident that there are also other factors governing these concrete processes.

As I suggested when analyzing example (1) [Child Agreement], the need to modify the quotation depends on the difference between the original discourse and the intended final discourse. In example (1), these two discourses mainly coincided, but in example (2), it is obvious that these two "poles" are rather far apart. Next, I will present some findings concerning the linguistic differences between spoken utterances and written quotations and discuss further what causes this difference.

The interview in example (2) was not conducted in a formal style. According to the SR, the journalist had not prepared for the interview by formulating specific questions beforehand, but had only written down some general themes to cover. As a result, the interview became very "interactional", in that the journalist and the interviewee cooperated in organizing the flow and structure of the interview. The text analysis and the SR also confirmed that the interviewee's speech was exceedingly spontaneous and impromptu and therefore it was replete with repetitions, run-on sentences, hesitations, self-repairs, and other features of talk-in-interaction. Furthermore, during the interview, the interviewee's pronunciation of the words was truncated, which is typical of spoken language. All this resulted in a need for the journalist to make major alterations to the linguistic form of the quoted text. A few examples from the differences in the interview and published quotations are the following:

Table 2. Comparative analysis of interview and published quotations in example (2).

	Interview	**Published quotations**
(i)	…(.) kiehtoo et on ne samat (.) jättimäiset studiorakennukset mihin rakennetaan sit sisälle kokonaiset metsät ja ja (.) kylät… *(.) it's fascinating that there are the same (.) gigantic studio buildings where they build then inside whole forests and and (.) villages*	Kun näki ne jättimäiset rakennukset ja niiden sisällä kulisseiksi rakennetut kokonaiset kylät ja metsät,… *When you saw those gigantic buildings and inside of them entire villages and forests built as sets*
(ii)	…kokone… *the size of*	…kokoinen…
(iii)	…siel… *there*	…siellä…
(iv)	… (.) kun siel oli se kyläkin joka oli semmonen? (.) <mitä mä sanoisin (.) minkä torin kokone se ois> >varmaan tommonen< (.) ää (.) Hietsun kirppiksen kokonen alue (.)… *because there's this village, which was like (.) <well, how would I put it (.) what size of market place it would be> >probably like maybe< (.) um (.) an area the size of the Hietsu flea market*	…Siellä oli Hietsun kirppiksen kokoinen kylä. *There was a village the size of the Hietsu flea market.*

The syntax in (i) has been reconstructed substantially, and the phonetic form of the words in (ii) and (iii), was supplemented in the text even though this is a relatively informal article type.

In addition to the requirements of the intended register, the SRs I conducted serve as evidence that the article must function as an independent, dramaturgically consistent story, not as an account of the course of the journalistic interview. As a consequence, the original discourse requires reorganizing and editing in order to be shaped as coherent and concise quotations that can be positioned in a logical relationship with their surrounding text. One obvious example of this process is presented in (iv), where the long speculation about an appropriate comparison to illustrate the size of the set is represented in the quotation by one clause only. In addition to being a content-driven summary of the interviewee's talk, the clause is also placed at the end of the quotation. This transfer could be explained by observing that the core of the utterance has been formulated into a simpler form in order for the quotation to serve the objectives that were established for the overarching plot of the article (cf. Haapanen in press 2017).

When quoting, one needs to intentionally extract the selected information from the conversation and then edit it into a quotation. In this particular case, the quoted discourse needed to be shaped into a forward-oriented response to the prior text. This prior text presented an assertion, and the quotation offered an illustration for it. When examining this quotation, an additional influence of the "planting" of the quotation is the abbreviation of *studiorakennukset*, 'studio buildings', into *rakennukset*, 'buildings'; since the text prior to the quotation has already established the context for the quotation – *Ensimmäiset päivät studiolla olivat huikeita*, 'The first days at the studio were fantastic' –, it would be, according to the SR, a waste of space, and would also be tautological to repeat the word *studio*, '(film) studio.'

Thus far, taking into consideration the media concept, the immediate motives for the modifications I have presented above can be explained in terms of Components 2 and 3. These pertain to the article's formal requirements and the concrete composing process of it (planning, interviewing and writing), respectively. Nevertheless, the data clearly suggest that extensive modification of the text is not solely related, on the one hand, to the differences between spoken and written discourse and the original and intended register (for example, standard / colloquial language), and on the other hand, to dramaturgy. Let us now turn to the analysis of some linguistic features that support the existence of Component 1.

Despite the extensive standardization of the quoted discourse described above, the intended article type may evidently contain – or even require – some spoken-like features. For example, apart from the last clause, the whole quotation consists of one long clause complex.[21] In addition, there is the speech-like spelling *mitä vaan*, 'whatever,' (*mitä vain*, in standard language), a lexical colloquialism *kirppis*, 'flea market,' (*kirpputori*, in standard language), a casual word *kiva*, 'nice,' and a colloquial nickname, *Hietsu* (more formally the name would be *Hietalahti*). The SR revealed that the journalist was utilizing these spoken-like features to create an illusion of spoken language in the text, although the text is still far removed from the original spoken discourse behind the quotation. My position is that this illusion-making works because readers have "learned," for example, from fiction, an inaccurate conception of what spoken discourse looks like in its written representation (cf. Haviland 1996: 49). This conception makes it difficult for the average reader to decipher informal face-to-face interaction as described in detail by linguists. This needs to be taken into consideration as a part of the societal context in which all the newspapers and magazines are produced. In the modelling of the media concept, the societal context belongs to Component 1. In practical terms, if a journalist intends to create an illusion of spoken language, she would paradoxically achieve better results by not quoting verbatim, but rather by selecting only some particular vernacular features to achieve the desired impression (for similar observations about fiction, see Koivisto & Nykänen 2013; Tiittula & Nuolijärvi 2013; Leech & Short 2007). One illustration of this is that in one of my data interviews, the interviewee stated *nätti ja söötti*, 'pretty and cute,' words which also appeared in a journalist's notebook. However, the published story read *kaunis ja söötti*, 'beautiful and cute'. In the SR, the journalist explained that in her opinion, replicating both vernacular words would have created "a too strong impression of spoken language."

[21] Although the clause chains that occur in spoken language may indeed be rather lengthy (see Auer 1992), recursion (successive embedding) – as in the quotation in question (ex. 2b) – appears to be strictly limited (Laury & Ono 2010). Thus, the quotation is not to present a *realistic* representation of spoken language, but to create an *illusion* of it.

I will discuss one additional linguistic feature in terms of Component 1 of the media concept. Let us return to the words *Hietsun kirppis*, 'the Hietsu [Hietalahti] flea market,'[22] in example (2). The use of the nickname indicates the colloquial register of the article. Furthermore, using the proper name, and especially the nickname, of a specific district in downtown Helsinki, is a decision that may reflect the values and ideologies of this particular publication. The majority of people living in the Helsinki metropolitan area undoubtedly recognize the nickname, whereas it is probably less familiar to people who live in other areas of Finland. Moreover, out of those people who are familiar with the nickname, only some have actually visited the square where *Hietsun kirppis* is located. The usage of this specific word can therefore be interpreted as reflecting a type of arrogance, or at least a metropolitan-centric outlook. This word choice is likely to be intentional, because the magazine in which the article was published is known for its thorough editing culture. Owing to these circumstances, the linguistic composition of the original discourse has been so substantially modified that this particular word could also have been changed if so desired. As demonstrated above, the analysis of the linguistic choices in quotations (Component 3) can lead to the more foundational factors that affect the process of creating quotations (Component 1). Next, I will present some further findings that belong to Component 1.

Most of the informant-journalists claimed in their SRs that the values and purpose of the target publication affect not only the choice of the article type, the topic, and the interviewee but also whether or not the article would include quotations, what the target tone (such as fact-oriented/lively/striking) and the target register (standard / colloquial language) are, and the degree to which quotations are modified (factors such as the number of spoken-like syntactic structures, words or spelling can occur, if any) (for example, see [I] and [II] in the appendix). Additionally, acknowledging the audience arose several times as a justification for modifications: "You know that people talk in a way that you understand when you speak with them, but then if you write that down, it can no longer be understood by anyone who wasn't present at the time; so you have to write it so that the reader can understand what's being said. And that's the main starting point, to ensure that the reader understands." ([III] in the appendix.)

[22] *Hietsun kirppis*, 'the Hietsu flea market' is rather well-known among people living in the Helsinki metropolitan area.

Overall, the aspects belonging to Component 1 were rarely mentioned in the SRs. My assumption regarding this is that the publisher's values and purpose as well as the journalistic culture are learned through actual work on the one hand, and as tacit information on the other. In other words, they are institutionalized into the activities one normally performs unconsciously as a member of a social group such as an editorial staff (Perrin 2013b: 55). Therefore, the matters belonging to Component 1 are difficult for the journalist to verbalize for the researcher. As one informant-journalist described in the SR: "Every publication or magazine has its own nature ((…)). You know it and you tune into it, but it's hard to conceptualize it, or to break it down to something like five bullet points." ([IV] in the appendix). (See also Helle & Töyry 2009: 503.) In addition, some factors[23] might be sufficiently obvious that the informant-journalists did not even mention them, especially because they were aware of my own background as a journalist.

To summarize my findings thus far, Component 1, which encompasses the values and purpose of the publisher, the needs of the audience, as well as the journalistic and societal context, creates the basis for Component 2 by first setting the goals for a particular article (ex. 1: informative *news article* versus ex. 2: entertaining *profile article*), and then by allowing these goals to affect the article's determined length, structure, and style (ex. 1: compact, question-answer-organized, standard language versus ex. 2: broad, dramaturgically independent, colloquial features). Component 2 functions as a motive for the modifications that are performed during the daily production processes that comprise Component 3. In other words, these motives steer the planning of the interview (ex. 1: fixed questions versus ex. 2: general themes), the conducting of it (ex. 1: journalist-driven versus ex. 2: interactional), and the concrete writing-process (the functions, length, frequency, tone, and register of quotations). (cf. Kroon Lundell & Ekström 2010.)

3.3 Discrepancies in textual composition

As mentioned in the previous subsection, some words, phrases, and clauses can be omitted from quoted discourse. Even so, it is sometimes not sensible to speak of omission because a quotation can be composed of two or more separate seg-

[23] For instance, the basic structure of the journalistic text: headline + standfirst / subhead + text body.

ments of discourse clearly lifted from different parts of an interview. In this subsection, I will first analyze the relationship between the original and final discourse from the textual point of view. I will then proceed to highlight a particular aspect in creating quotations, how a journalist's utterances are transferred to an interviewee's quote.

The next data excerpt, example (3), is from the news section of a prominent Finnish newspaper. This article concerns a criticism that was expressed towards the social services of a Finnish municipality. The focus of the criticism is the expense caused by the temporary lodging that was purchased from a certain private company.

Example (3b) [Housing, published]

> Jatkuvat asumisjärjestelyt eivät kuuluisi sosiaalityöntekijöille, HAASTATELTAVA huomauttaa.
>
> ”Se on muusta ihmisten tukemisesta pois. Virastoa on syyllistetty, mutta olemme toimineet lakiin perustuen ja ihmisiä heitteille jättämättä.”
>
> Constantly spending time on arranging housing isn't really part of the social workers work, THE INTERVIEWEE points out.
>
> ”It is time away from other kinds of support for people. The office is being blamed, but we have acted according to the law and without abandoning people.”

The published quotation comprises two segments of discourse. These segments are from different parts of the interview.

Example (3a) [Housing, transcript]

01 JO:	tarkoittaako se sitä että kun te joudutte hoitamaan (.) does this mean that when you have to take care of (.)
02	tämmöstä määrää niinku asumisongelmia so many of these, like, housing problems
03	niin se on sitten <resursseista> sitten pois jostain muualta? so it is then taken from other resources, from somewhere else
04 IN:	on (.) yes (.)

[17 minutes omitted. At the end of the omitted sequence, immediately before line 5, the journalist and the interviewee have concluded that the problems in emergency housing should be solved by politicians, not by the social work sector. The journalist and the interviewee agree that this problem is difficult, but they look forward to the public discussion that might arise after this news article is published. At this point, there is a prolonged pause.]

05	(3.0)
06 IN:	.hh niin sen mä niinku tiedän että et- .hh the thing I sort of know is that
07	meitä on syyllistetty tässä (1.5) mutta we have been blamed for (1.5) but
08 JO:	mm mm
09 IN:	haluan nyt puolustautua että (.) I now want point out in our defense that (.)
10	olemme tehneet sen niinkun (.) we have done it like (.)
11	lakiin perustuen ja ihmisiä heitteille jättämättä. according to the law and without abandoning people
12 JO:	mm mm

The two segments of discourse (lines 1–4 and 5–12) that were used to construct the quotation were actually stated seventeen minutes apart. The SR indicated that the reasons for this integration originated from Component 2 of the media concept, which relates to the required length, compactness and storyline of the article (see [V] in the appendix). Many informant-journalists raised the same point regarding the integration of extended or multiple segments of discourse into a single quotation. They supported this practice if it did not alter meaning. Strictly speaking, it is impossible to achieve an equivalence of the meanings. As stated by Linell (1998a), when the context changes, the meaning will change as well.

Nevertheless, it is rational to adopt a more practical position on the issue – this practical orientation is also the mindset of journalists in their everyday work.

To illustrate the journalists' practices, let us compare the meanings of examples (3a) and (3b). The published quotation begins with *Se on muusta ihmisten tukemisesta pois*, 'It is time away from other kinds of support for people.' The first word of the quotation, the pronoun *se*, 'it,' has the same referent as *jatkuvat asumisjärjestelyt*, 'constantly spending time on arranging housing,' which is placed in the text before the quotation. During the interview, the interlocutors have discussed "the resources" (line 3) and "taking care of housing problems" (lines 1–2). Although the interview and the article do not have the same wording, the meaning can be assessed to be moderately equivalent. Let us move then to the second sentence of the quotation: Whereas it is rather verbatim from the linguistic point of view, the perception changes when we focus on the meaning. The second sentence begins with the clause *Virastoa on syyllistetty* 'The office has been blamed.' The cause for this blame has not been exposed, but due to the adjacency of the two sentences comprising the quotation, the primary reading is that the cause would be *jatkuvat asumisjärjestelyt* 'constantly spending time on arranging housing'. However, the quoted discourse is decontextualized from the end of the interview and the actual referent is (more or less) *hätämajoituksen ostaminen yksityiseltä palveluntarjoajalta* 'the purchase of emergency housing from the private service provider' (for a longer version of example 3, see Haapanen 2016a: 231–234). Although the difference between the meaning of the original and the final discourse is rather minor and subtle, it nonetheless exists. In my data, the same observation often applies to the cases where the quotation is constructed from several different parts of the interview.

However, if we shift the orientation so that we perceive the term *meaning* from the perspective of social actions, the relation between the original and the final discourse is direct: During lines 5–12 and immediately before them at the end of the omitted sequence in example (3a), several lingering turns and pauses have occurred as well as "reinvocations of the reason for initiating the conversation," which indicate that the interlocutors are preparing to close the conversation (Schegloff & Sacks 1973: 90–91). The sequence occurred during the last minutes of the 35-minute interview. Respectively, the quotation based on this sequence finished the article.

Next I will highlight one particularity of making quotations: the manner in which discourse produced by the journalist in the interview is attributed to the interviewee through quoting. The first clause of the quotation in example (3) (*Se on muusta ihmisten tukemisesta pois*, 'It is time away from other kinds of support for people') is attributed to the interviewee, although the linguistic form and content is mainly based on the utterance produced by the journalist herself. In other words, in the published article, the journalist's question (lines 1–3) is edited into a declarative sentence and planted into the mouth of the interviewee.

An analysis of the original and the final discourse does not lead us further than that, but utilizing the SR allows us entry to behind the scenes.

The journalist explained in the SR that she had not prepared all of the questions in advance, but formulated them – especially the exact wording – during the interview (see [VI] in the appendix). This is related to Component 2 of the media concept. First, the article type and the topic of the article in the making on the one hand, and the journalist's workload on the other, determine the amount of preparation required. Second, the SR data indicate that when a journalist writes an article for the written media, it is possible and – at least tacitly – acceptable to attribute the journalist's discourse to that of the interviewee.[24]

Example (4) is further evidence of the same phenomenon and it originates from an interview for an article in a business-to-customer-magazine (4a). The interviewee is the director of a company that manufactures high technology devices.

Example (4a) [Market, transcript]

01 JO:	teidän asiakkaat ni siis ne on sairaaloita ja (.) vastaavia your customers then they are like hospitals (.) and such
02 IN:	ne on sairaaloit joo they are hospitals, yeah
03 JO:	joo (.) mut alust asti on siis ollu niinku selkeet et (.) yeah (.) but from the beginning it has been kinda clear that (.)

[24] The data in this paper contain three similar cases. This case was from a newspaper, while the other two were published in a magazine and in a business-to-customer-magazine. The last instance will be analyzed as example (4) below.

04	se on ulkomaille myös suuntautuvaa it's also directed abroad
05 IN:	joo yeah
06 JO:	tai siis että (.) markkinana on koko maailma (.) eiks näin I mean (.) the whole world is the market (.) isn't it
07 IN:	kyllä joo joo (.) yes, yes that's right (.)

Based on the conversation above, the journalist composed the following quotation (ex. 4b) that is attributed entirely to the interviewee:

Example (4b) [Market, published]

> ”Olemme tähdänneet kansainvälisille markkinoille alusta alkaen, ja asiakkaitamme ovat sairaalat eri puolilla maailmaa. Tähän mennessä olemme toimittaneet noin pari sataa laitetta, joista kotimaahan on mennyt vain puolenkymmentä”, HAASTATELTAVA kertoo.
>
> ”We have targeted international markets from the beginning, and have hospitals from around the world as our customers. So far, we have delivered about two hundred devices, of which only half a dozen have been sold in this country,” THE INTERVIEWEE says.

As in example (3), the quotation in example (4) is based predominantly on what the journalist herself said (lines 1, 3–4, 6). The interviewee confirmed the information (*ne on sairaaloit joo*, ‘they are hospitals, yeah’ [line 2]; *joo*, ‘yeah’ [line 5]; *kyllä joo joo*, ‘yes, yes that’s right’ [line 7]). Once again, the SR serves as further evidence for this analysis.

The SR disclosed that the journalist’s original article assignment defined “internationalization” as the main topic of the article. In other words, the company and its director were selected because the magazine wanted to highlight the international markets of the company. When the journalist called the interviewee for the first time, the journalist told her that the central point of the article would be the international markets of the company. In the actual interview, the journalist wanted to introduce this main topic to the discussion to verify that her information was correct and to elicit more information on it. Nevertheless, as they had already discussed that specific topic – internationalization – over the phone, there was no need to ask any explicit questions related to it during the interview. Finally, when the journalist was writing her article, she wanted to "let the interviewee say the main point" ([VII] in the appendix), even though the quoted utterance was never actually uttered during the interview. To summarize, the purpose and needs of the publication prompted the journalist to use the quote as a text linguistic device so as to formulate the interviewee's standpoint, rather than quoting it per se. Regarding the media concept, the intended content and outline of the article (Component 2) govern the journalist's quoting processes (Component 3).

In the stimulated recall sessions, both journalists (of ex. 3 and ex. 4) remarked on the questionable nature of the work practice discussed: "When you haven't prepped all the questions beforehand, your own phrasing might be bad, and you'll get a sort of yes-or-no answer. Well, that probably kinda should be written down word for word." "Well, strictly speaking, you probably shouldn't put that as a quote" (see [VI] and [VIII] in the appendix). This is natural, because guidebooks and ethic codes are strictly against this phenomenon, as well as against all types of fabrications of quotations:

> Never intentionally misquote (Stein 1995: 241).
>
> Fabricating a direct quote, even from general things that a source has said or from what the source might say if given the chance, is never a good idea (Brooks et al. 2002: 85).
>
> Don't "invent" quotations. Your job is to put your sources on record – not put words into their mouths. If a source refuses or is unable to give you the quote you need, go back for another interview or go to another source. (Ruberg 2005: 122.)

Yet, despite of the guidelines and ethic codes, this phenomenon is rather common. This is understandable from the perspective of work practices: If a journalist has prepared sufficiently well, she probably already knows in advance the main points of the interview discussion and introduces them to the discussion herself. The role of the interviewee then becomes affirmative, leading to confirmations such as "yes," or "that's right." However, these short utterances would not make the article sufficiently vital and impressive in their verbatim form (quotations have multiple functions in the narration of an article, see Haapanen 2011).

Thus, the apparent contradiction between 'etic' guidance and 'emic' practice clearly necessitates further ethical considerations.

From the perspective of the media concept, this peculiar yet common practice is caused by the predetermined viewpoint of the article (Component 2), which is then reflected in the concrete work processes used in producing the planned article (Component 3). Considering the current journalistic culture (Component 1), this is a somewhat "naturalized" and economic strategy to produce an article for print media.

3.4 Monologization of the interview

This section discuss one special aspect of recontextualization through which the frequent and robust interaction between two (or more) participants in the journalistic interview is eliminated in the articles. In other words, the journalist does not only ask the questions, but she also keeps the interview conversation going and structures it by using frequent response particles and other responsive elements, including gestures and laughing. All this is obscured from the readers through the procedure, which I have labeled *monologization.* [25] (On *monologization* in more detail, see Haapanen 2016b.) In this connection, I also focus on the work practices of documenting an interview, because these practices reflect on the process of the monologization of the interview.

First, due to "monologization," the sequential positioning of the quoted text in the final discourse does not match its positioning in the original discourse. For example, from the typical three-part structure of an interview (the journalist's question, the interviewee's answer, the journalist's feedback), only the answer is typically exposed in the article. This results in the fact that quoted discourse, which originally was a response to a question, often appears to be expressed as if it had been stated on the interviewee's own initiative (similarly in television news production, see Ekström 2001: 571). Yet, this type of *sequential repositioning* is often far more extensive than merely a concealment of the responsiveness of a quoted discourse, as shown in my data.

[25] The everyday perception of the words dialogue and monologue well reflects the contrast between a journalistic interview as a discourse with relatively frequent turn-taking by two (or more) participants, and a quotation as a discourse by a single language user.

Example (5a) [Restriction] is an excerpt from an interview for a business magazine that deals with the interviewee's career and the company. The interviewee was a non-native Finnish speaker and consequently she not only had a foreign accent (not indicated in the transcript), but she also made frequent errors in inflection and word choice. These features were cleaned up in the quotations, and the SR confirmed that the journalist did not even consider quoting the non-native-like Finnish verbatim in the article. According to the media concept, it is not common in the current journalistic culture (Component 1) to replicate defective language skills, and this could be done only with a firm justification from the viewpoint of the article (Component 2), as stated in the SR (see [IX] in the appendix). In addition to influencing linguistic modifications discussed in the previous subsections, the non-native delivery likewise highly influences the structure of the interview and, thus, the practice of quoting.

Prior to the transcribed excerpt in example (5a) below, the journalist and the interviewee discussed the financial turnover of the company. The interviewee stated that the turnover has not been large yet.

Example (5a) [Restriction, transcript] [26]

01 IN:	mutta mä halusin niinkun (.) ensi vuonna mä piti (.) but I kinda wanted that like (.) next year I was going to (.)	
02	lopetta tämä rajoitus (.) oma end this restriction (.) my own	[rajoitus [restriction
03 O:		[nii (.) et (.) [yeah (.) that (.)
04	ett sä voisit kasvaaki vai tarkotat joo that you could also grow ((your business)) or what you mean yes	[sitäksä [is that
05 IN:		[joo joo [yes yes

[26] Erroneous inflections occur throughout the interviewee's utterances. Yet these inflections have not been replicated in the translation.

06 IN:	ja nimen[omaan nyt- and right now-	
07 JO:	[nii et se on ollut sun päässä [so that it has been in your head	[oleva rajoitus [the restriction
08 IN:		[joo [yes
09	se on mun päässä (.) mä tiedän mä tiedän (.) it's in my head (.) I know I know (.)	

The SR established that in this particular excerpt, it was difficult for the journalist to understand what the interviewee meant. But as is characteristic of a face-to-face conversation, the journalist could immediately check whether or not she had understood correctly. She wanted to affirm that *tämä rajoitus*, 'this restriction', referred to some aspect that prevented the interviewee from expanding her business (line 4). The interviewee confirmed this assumption (line 5). The journalist then posed another question concerning whether she had inferred correctly that the obstacle for expansion was of a mental nature (line 7), and received another affirmative answer (lines 8–9). To summarize, the structure of the interview is highly interactional.

Based on these negotiations over meanings, the journalist wrote the following excerpt:

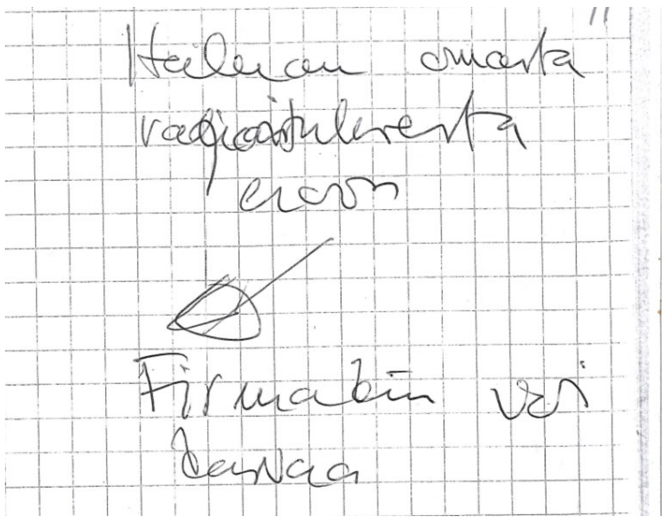
Example (5b) [Restriction, published]

> Ensi vuonna HAASTATELTAVAN tavoite on kasvattaa yritystä. Tähän asti hän on tyytynyt elättämään itsensä. "Mielessäni on ollut este kasvulle, mutta nyt on aika poistaa se."
>
> Next year the goal of THE INTERVIEWEE is to grow her business. Until now, she has been content to be able to provide for herself. "There has been an obstacle to growing in my mind, but now is the time to remove it."

The interactive negotiation is concealed from the reader of the published quotation. Rather than repeat the turn-taking verbatim, the journalist corrects the interviewee's language and presents *her own* formulation of the jointly produced understanding. Yet according to the informant-journalist in the SR, the interviewee did not object to the use of the quotation after reading the article prior to its publication.

Next, I will analyze how the manner of documenting an interview influences monologization. The notebook of the journalist (ex. 5c) reveals that the interaction was already filtered out during the interviewing situation in real time. Picture 1 is an image from the notebook.

Picture 1. [Example (5c), Restriction, notebook]



Haluan omasta rajoituksesta eroon
↓
Firmakin voi kasvaa

I want to end my own restriction
↓
The company can also grow

As picture 1 indicates, the interactional nature of the interview is no longer visible in the notebook. In other words, from those few words (and one arrow) written on the notebook, it is unclear which of the words were originally uttered by the journalist and how the turn-taking unfolded.

Because the method of documenting an interview (such as tape-recording, notetaking, and memory) is one of the essential variables in journalistic work practices, I will discuss them in detail from the perspective of quoting. I will focus on two somewhat opposite documentation practices that were used by the journalists in example (2) [Film Studio] and example (5) [Restriction]. As we have seen, extensive editing of the quoted discourse was required in both cases.

In example (2) the journalist tape-recorded the interview and then roughly transcribed it from beginning to end. With this method, the most extensive modifying process took place when the journalist sketched and wrote the article based on her transcription. In example (5), however, the journalist documented the interview only by taking notes.[27] In this, as in other cases in my data, *taking notes* seems to necessitate that, first, a journalist demarcates a segment from a longer, conceptually and intentionally continuous and coherent stretch of discourse – fairly forcefully in the case of a talkative interviewee. Then, she writes it down, eliminating, abbreviating and/or summarizing the original discourse. Thus, a substantial part of the modifying process already had been completed during the interview situation itself and almost in real time, because it is arguable to assume that when the journalist wrote her article afterwards based on these few key clauses in her notebook, she cannot – and was not required to – recall the exact turn-taking anymore. To summarize, when documenting an interview by taking notes, the notes – rather than the original discourses – become the basis for the quotations. (See also Haapanen 2016a: 241–244.)

My data also show that journalists base their quotations and articles not only on tape recordings and/or notes, but also on their own memory. This is demonstrated by the following brief example (6) from a newspaper. The interview (ex. 6a) is one of the cases where I have access to the tape-recording that the journalist herself did not use when writing the article (ex. 6b). During this interview, the interviewee stated *eihän se nyt voi sillä lailla loppua että siinä niinkun paha ei saa palkkaansa*, 'it really cannot end in such a way that <u>the evil won't get its pay.</u>'[28] The utterance using this proverb was not written down in the journalist's notebook. Nevertheless, the quotation included the clause *Ja että paha saa palkkansa*,

[27] I asked the informant-journalists to create articles (both interview and the writing-process) as they would normally do. Some of the informant-journalists were used to taking notes by hand, and did not ordinarily tape-record the interview, but at my request, these informant-journalists made tape-recordings for my use only.

[28] The underlined section is an adaption of the Finnish proverb *paha saa palkkansa*. The proverb means that one gets due punishment (lit. *palkka*, 'a pay') for his or her misdeeds. In the quotation based on this utterance, the proverb is in its traditional form. An approximate English gloss of this proverb would be *the chickens come home to roost*.

‘And the evil will get its pay.’ Thus it would appear that the journalist based the inscription on her memory rather than her notes.

In general, it would appear that while it is relatively easy to recall content, keywords, or proverbs, human memory is an unreliable source for replicating exact wordings (for example, see Clark & Gerrig 1990: 796–797). Additionally, by examining my data from the perspective of work practices, it is evident that the most verbatim quotations in the data (especially when the quotation is longer than only a few words) are based on tape-recordings (on the practice of taking notes, see [X] in the appendix).

The examples above indicate that work practices – such as tape-recording versus note-taking – clearly influence the recontextualization of the interviews into quotations. As a rule, however, the method of documentation and the verbatim character of the quotations do not correlate. If the original discourse is radically different from the intended final discourse, substantial modifications are needed, regardless of the method and precision in the documentation of the interview (see also Haapanen 2016a).

In terms of the media concept, the choice of the documentation method is a journalistic tool to perform the journalist’s daily production duties (Component 3). On the other hand, the choice of documentation practices also seems to be affected by the workload and time resources of journalists (see [XI] in the appendix), which can be categorized under the division of labor (Component 2), and by the journalistic culture, which represents Component 1 of the media concept. In other words, why would a journalist tape-record and perform the time-consuming and laborious procedure of transcribing, if it is not necessary to produce quotations that follow every detail of the interviewee’s speech?

4 Summary and conclusions

The analysis of published articles, original interviews, and stimulated recalls in my data demonstrates that the relation between an interview and a quotation is highly case-dependent. As a result, it is impossible to predict the form of a quotation merely by reviewing what is stated in the original interview. Conversely, determining what was actually expressed in an interview cannot be inferred from a written quotation.

In some rare instances, the linguistic and textual form of the original discourse remains unchanged in the final discourse. But even then, due to the nature of the oral and written modalities, many aspects of spoken delivery cannot be reproduced in writing. Yet it is far more common that the discourse is modified in one way or another, resulting in deletions, insertions, revisions and changes in word order. The modifications vary in quantity and quality, and range from word-level changes to substantial alterations of the discourse. Furthermore, journalists can merge texts from different parts of an original discourse into one quotation.

Another common practice is that quotations have been "monologized," where the co-construction (in terms of both form and meaning) of the original discourse between the journalist and the interviewee is reduced into a monologue by the interviewee. In light of journalistic professional guidance, this procedure seems controversial. However, if we disentangle ourselves from the verbatim-oriented position and rethink the phenomenon in a dialogistic theoretical framework (e.g., Linell 2009), the discourse segment in question is a social action. In this social action, a question being responded to by a "yes" makes the constructed meaning a collaborative enterprise. In other words, the "yes" makes the content of the journalist's question something that the interviewee is co-responsible for, and hence the interviewee can be attributed to in the quoted representation.

In terms of meaning, the same heterogeneity applies to the relation between the original and the final discourses. Thus, it is not unusual for quotations, in their contexts, to be interpreted somewhat differently than the original discourse they were based on.

It is important to note that not only is there extensive variation in the modifications of quotations within one article, but there is also a wide range of variation in modifications within one quotation. In other words, some part of the quotation might be verbatim, whereas another part might be complete rewording.[29] In addition, no single factor (for instance an article type, a work practice, the topic of the article, or a target medium) seems to determine how a quotation is modified in my data. However, my data is clearly too small to make any broader conclusions.

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[29] These results challenge the practice of grouping quotations according to any one type of modification, as Johnson Barella (2005) has done.

The heterogeneity and unpredictability of the quotation-making process raises the question of what accounts for the modifications in quotation-making. First, the main actors who create the article are the journalist and the interviewee. The journalist (and the editorial staff the journalist works with) determines the topic and whom to interview. She then produces the interview situation jointly with the interviewee(s), and exploits the original discourse as source material when writing the article. In the threefold modelling of the media concept, the journalistic work process comprises Component 3, that is, the daily production processes.

Nevertheless, my analysis suggests that a journalist by no means creates an article solely according to her own free will. Instead, she produces the intended article type, which is a predetermined part of the structure of a media product. Additionally, she is unavoidably influenced by her employer's division of labor and the work load caused by it. The article type and the work load constitute what is referred to as the architecture of the whole, which comprises Component 2 of the media concept.

The architecture of the whole does not come into existence spontaneously, but it is a result of the well-thought-out objective of the publisher. When running their businesses, publishers have informative, ideological, financial, and perhaps other goals as well. To attain these goals successfully, the publisher must define the target audience, and determine how to create a permanent relationship with it. For example, they accomplish this by understanding and satisfying the audience's needs and interests. This is the core of Component 1 of the media concept. But in addition to the publisher and the audience, any specific media is influenced by the prevalent journalistic culture. Within the parameters of this paper, that culture creates the foundation for the general conception of how spoken discourse is transferred into written form, and how the interactional nature of the interview is reduced into monologuous quotations.

The main conclusion of my paper is that these factors, grouped into the three components of the media concept, create the complex relation between the original discourse (= the interview) and the final discourse (= the published quotation); they also govern the work practices in journalism. Furthermore, all things considered, quoting is not a mechanical and systematic process, but it is carefully self-monitored by the journalist. In addition, no single unambiguous definition for "directness" seems to exist that would apply to all direct quotations in my data. Instead, direct quotations are text elements in an article that combine the discourse of an interview and the multifaceted purposes and aims of a journalist, publication and publisher. (Similarly in television news production, see Nylund 2003; Kroon Lundell & Ekström 2010. For more detail on quoting practices, see Haapanen in press 2017.)

As demonstrated in this study, the reality of making quotations is not in line with the perception in the guidebooks and with those shared by the audience.[30] I would argue that this makes the rare references to quoting offered in guidebooks to more resemble noble declarations than serious guidelines for daily work. The SRs I conducted showed that the journalists themselves recognize the actual daily work practices presented in this paper – although several informant-journalists were rather surprised during the SR to discover the extent of the modifications they had actually made. Nevertheless, the informant-journalists did not express concern regarding the prevalent perception on quoting.

As for the underlying reasons for the phenomenon in the previous paragraph, I have two educated guesses. First, to uncover all the modifications and pure fabrications that occur in quoting practices might cause the audience to be perplexed and would result in accusations, even if these modifications were carried out of necessity and were created to serve the readers. The second point is that the majority of the rhetorical and narrative functions of quotations[31] (see Haapanen 2011) are based on the idea of verbatimness. As Stimson (1995: 69) has stated, "readers apparently assume they are hearing a person's actual words within quote marks, and journalism is happy to let them think so."

To conclude, rather than stirring up a hornet's nest in the profession, perhaps for journalists and media publishers, it is both useful and safe to sustain this illusion.

[30] As a matter of fact, the audience's viewpoint needs to be researched more (see, however, Culbertson & Somerick 1976).

[31] Quotations enhance such factors as the plausibility that the quoted person's has been reproduced in the authentic verbatim way, they reflect a speaker's unique manner of using language and his or her first-hand experiences, and they characterize the quoted speaker (Haapanen 2011).

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Appendix

Original excerpts and their English translations from stimulated recall sessions (I–XI)

(I)

RESEARCHER: Jos ajattelet eri lehtiä, mihin teet, niin ajatteletko muokkaamista eri tavoin?

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: Joo. Ehkä niin päin että kun tunnen [Lehden 1]:n niin hyvin ja tiedän että siellä ollaan avoimia kaikelle uudelle, niin uskallan kokeilla rohkeammin. Sitten varmaan johonkin [lehti 2]:aan en edes uskaltaisi kokeilla, että siellä pysyisin hyvin yleisellä ja neutraalilla tasolla.

RESEARCHER: When you think of the different publications you're working for, do you regard modification differently?

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: Yeah. Maybe because I know [Magazine 1] so well and I know that they are open to new things, so I dare to experiment more boldly. Then again, for some [Magazine 2] I wouldn't even dare to try anything and would keep things at a very general and neutral level.

(II)

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: On sovittu, että sitaateista tehdään oikeakielisiä. Eli jos joku sanoo jotain kieliopin vastaisesti, niin sitten se korjataan, koska sen ((= sitaatin)) pitää olla luettavaa tekstiä, ja jos se ((= epäkieliopillisuus)) vaikeuttaa sitä ymmärtämistä, niin silloin sitä muutetaan. Täytesanat otetaan pois.

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: It's been agreed that quotations are to be made (so they are) grammatically correct. So if someone says something that's grammatically incorrect, it will be corrected, because the text ((= the quotation)) must be readable and if it ((= the ungrammaticality)) makes it harder to understand, then it will be altered. Fillers (and some hesitations) are taken out.

(III)

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: Ihmisethän puhuu sillä tavalla että sen ymmärtää kun sen kanssa puhuu, mutta sitten jos semmosen kirjoittaa ulos, niin sitä ei ymmärrä enää kukaan tilanteen ulkopuolella ollut, eli se täytyy kirjoittaa niin että se lukija ymmärtää mistä siinä puhutaan. Että se on se päälähtökohta, että lukija ymmärtää.

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: You know that people talk in a way that you understand when you speak with them, but then if you write that down, it can no longer be understood by anyone who wasn't present at the time; so you have to write it so that the reader can understand what's being said. And that's the main starting point, to ensure that the reader understands.

(IV)

RESEARCHER: Osaatko sitä arvioida, että miten se ((= lehti)) vaikuttaa muokkaamiseen – eli ei juttutyyppi vaan se lehti?

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: Kyllä se jutun julkaisualusta vaikuttaa ((…)) jokaisella julkaisulla tai lehdellä on oma henki ((…)) sen tietää ja siihen asettuu mutta sitä on vaikea käsitteellistää, tai purkaa vaikka viideksi ranskalaiseksi viivaksi.

RESEARCHER: Could you assess how it ((= the publication)) affects modification – *it* meaning not the article type, but the magazine.

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: For sure, the publication platform has an effect ((…)) every publication or magazine has its own nature ((…)). You know it and you tune into it, but it's hard to conceptualize it, or to break it down to something like five bullet points.

(V)

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: Meillä on tosi tiiviit tilat ((= juttupaikkojen merkkimäärät)) ja siinä pitää pystyä usein kertomaan monipuolisesti isoja asioita. Sen takia on mun mielestä perusteltua tehdä tuontyyppisiä [muutoksia], jotka ei muuta sitä merkitystä millään tavalla.

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: We have really tight space restrictions and at the same time, we have to cover major issues from multiple angles. So that's why I think it's justifiable to make those kinds of changes, since they don't alter the meaning in any way.

(VI)

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: Jos olisin tv-toimittaja, niin mun ois varmaan pitänyt miettiä nää kysymykset tarkemmin ennakkoon. Mutta kun ((…)) ei ole kaikkia kysymyksiä miettinyt etukäteen, niin oma muotoilu saattaa olla huono, jolloin sä saat sellaisen kyllä–ei vastauksen. Varmaanhan se niinku pitäis kirjoittaa auki ((= sanatarkasti, muuntelematta)).

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: If I were a TV journalist, I probably would have had to prepare these questions more carefully in advance. But when you haven't prepped all the questions beforehand, your own phrasing might be bad, and you'll get a sort of yes-or-no answer. Well, that probably kinda should be written down word for word ((= verbatim, without modifications)).

(VII)

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: Tää ((=asia)), mitä tässä nyt tarkastellaan, oli sen jutun pääpointti. Niin siksi halusin antaa haastateltavan sanoa [lehdessä] sen jutun pääpointin.

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: This ((=matter)), what we're looking at now, was the main point in that article. So that's why I wanted to let the interviewee say the main point [in the article].

(VIII)

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: Jos oikein tiukkoja ollaan, niin totahan ei välttämättä vois laittaa sitaatiks. Mutta mä luulen, että tää on hyvin tyypillinen tapaus mihin sä tuut törmäämään, tai mä voisin kuvitella, että aika moni toimittaja tekee tällasta.

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: Well, strictly speaking, you probably shouldn't put that as a quote. But I think that this is a really typical case that you will run into, I mean, I can imagine that quite many journalists do something like this.

(IX)

RESEARCHER: Sitaattien tarkoitus ei siis ollut kuvailla puhujaa?

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: Ei. Jos puhekielisyyksiä on valittu niin niillä pitää olla joku pointti sen jutun kannalta, mutta tässä ((= jutussa)) niillä ei ollut. Ja tässä ei myöskään ollut tarkoitus korostaa sitä, että nyt ne puhuu huonosti suomea. ((…))

RESEARCHER: Eli jos puhekielisyyden valitsee niin se on ennemmin leimanomainen juttu kuin suora lainaus?

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: joo, se on niinku tarkoituksella silloin. Että meidän lehdessä sitaatit on yleiskirjakieltä, ja sit jos sinne ((= sitaattiin)) on laitettu puhekielisyys, niin se on sen takia että on haluttu sillä korostaa esim jotain siinä tyypissä tai jotain muuta, et niin se on.

RESEARCHER: So the purpose of the quotes was not to describe the speaker?

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: No. If colloquialisms have been selected then they have to have some point in the story, but in this one ((= story)) they didn't have any idea. But the idea here wasn't to emphasize the fact that they speak broken Finnish either. (…)

RESEARCHER: So if you choose a colloquialism, it's more about characterization of the quotation than making a direct quotation?

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: Yeah, it's on purpose in that case. In our magazine the quotes occur in standard language, and if any colloquialisms are used ((= in the quotation), they're used to emphasize things like something in that person or something else like that, that's the way it is.

(X)

RESEARCHER: Miten muuten kun nyt teit nauhurin kanssa mutta joskus teet [vain] käsimuistiinpanoilla, niin osaatko arvioida että jos olisit tehnyt tämän jutun vain muistiinpanoja tehden, niin…

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: En ois pystynyt näin tarkkaan, en missään nimessä. ((…)) En mä mitenkään ehdi kirjoittaa näin paljon. ja sit mä en muista, jos mulla on lyhennettyjä sanoja, niin en välttämättä muista mikä se loppuosa oli koska ei se mun tekniikka oo mitenkään niin tarkka. (Similarly, see Lehrer 1989: 122.)

RESEARCHER: By the way, since you used a tape-recorder but sometimes only take notes, can you assess if you had made this article just by taking notes, you have been able to….

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: I wouldn't have been able to be this precise, no way. ((…)) I really don't have time to write down this much. And then if I've used abbreviations, I don't necessarily remember what the word actually was because the technique I use isn't that exact at all. (Similarly, see Lehrer 1989: 122)

(XI)

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: Äänitän harvoin, en tykkää siitä, enemmän käsimuistiinpanoja suosin. Ja yksi syy on se, että jos kaiken äänittäis ja kaiken purkais, niin työaikahan ei riittäis, kun ei se riitä muutenkaan. Niin tuossa säästää sitten aikaa kun ei äänitä kaikkea.

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: I rarely record on tape, I don't like it, I prefer taking notes. And one reason is that if you record everything and transcribe everything, your working hours won't be enough, because they aren't enough as it is. So you save time when you don't record everything.

Article II (preprint version)

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Rethinking Quoting in Written Journalism: an Intertextual Chain from an Interview into Quotations

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This paper conceptualises the relation between an interview and its direct quotations in a journalistic article as an intertextual chain; it then presents an array of core practices that journalists adopt in this chaining. The analysis is based on data from stimulated recall sessions with several informant-journalists. The "stimuli" originate from the recordings of journalistic interviews conducted by the informants as well as on the articles based on those interviews. The quoting practices of the informant-journalists are structured according to a three-part model of the recontextualisation of quotations: *decontextualisation practices* focus on selecting a suitable piece of information from the interview, while *contextualisation practices* influence the positioning of the quoted material in the final article and *textualisation practices* pertain to deletions, changes and insertions in the quoted material itself. This paper constructs an authentic, empirically based formulation of the quoting practices and reveals that the overarching goal that guides these practices is to achieve the objective(s) of the article rather than to address the commonly advocated demand for 'directness'. This three-part model could be applied in various domains where similar practices may prevail, such as scientific writing, political discourse as well as police interrogations.

Keywords: written journalism, quotations, quoting practices, intertextual chain, stimulated recall

1. Introduction.

This paper analyses the practice of quoting in written journalism from a media linguistic point of view.[1] As a sub-discipline of applied linguistics, media linguistics focuses on language use in journalistic media. In terms of theory, media linguistics analyses data from media settings to solve research problems raised by linguistics itself (e.g. Perrin 2013: part A). Whereas quoting is a central and frequently used linguistic action in general, the actual quoting practices adopted in some particular domain vary substantially and always serve some specific intent (e.g. Ekström 2006). In this paper, the main focus is to explore the transformational relationship between journalistic interviews and the quotations based on those interviews. I conceptualise this relationship as an *intertextual chain*, in which texts transform into other texts "in regular and predictable ways" (Fairclough 1992: 130). My main objective is to clarify this "chaining"

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process in the specific context of quoting in written journalism by presenting the following research question: What are the quoting practices that journalists both use and can recognise from their own work processes? While some research on actual quoting practices has been conducted (e.g. Haapanen in press 2017; Lehrer 1989; Johnson Barella 2005), there is nonetheless a "pressing need" to examine quoting practices more closely (Nylund 2006b: 151).

In terms of practice, media linguistics aims to clarify problems in media practice by using linguistic tools. One such practical dimension in this paper pertains to the striking contradiction between the "official" perception of quoting practices and what actually occurs in real-life. By "official", I refer to media terminology handbooks and journalism guidebooks, which refer to quotations as more or less verbatim repetitions of an original utterance – and while the *form* needs to be altered slightly, the *meaning* must be maintained (for example, see Zelizer & Allan 2010: 31; Brooks *et al*. 2002: 72–86; Goldstein 2009: 232; Kramer & Call 2007: 107–109). However, in practice, the relation between spoken utterances and written quotations is highly complex, as will be demonstrated in the next section.

To explain the quoting practices that journalists consciously adopt, I needed to trace the journalists' mental activities. Such a study of thought processes and intentions has been criticised as mere "introspection" and "too impressionistic to verify processes" (e.g. Smagorinsky 1994: ix-x).

However, most flaws in reliability and validity can be overcome by combining different data and methods (for instance, see Flick *et al* 2004; Beaufort 2008). A multi-method approach has been successfully demonstrated in the landmark project in the field of media linguistics, the Idée Suisse (for overview, see Perrin in this volume; Perrin 2013), which combines ethnographic observation and verbal inquiry as well as a handful of other methods. While ethnographic observation captures the activity but leaves it to the researchers to interpret the motive for the activity, verbal inquiry allows access to the mental reflections of the people under investigation, but the results might then be affected by their self-awareness. To sum up, varying methods compensate for each other's flaws. These types of methodologically complex research designs have led to promising results in media linguistics (e.g. Vandendaele, De Cuypere & Van Praet 2015).

The research design of this paper that will be introduced in the following section takes advantage of my empirically grounded model of journalistic quoting, which offers not only a holistic but also structured perception of the phenomenon at hand. From this premise, I then exploit a stimulated recall method that is designed to increase the informants' awareness of their actual work practices. Thus, this method offers a more authentic picture of journalistic quoting and the goals steering it than, for example, semi-structured interviews or even more simplistic research designs such as common surveys. My paper is organised as follows: section 2 presents the background of my research framework, and sections 3 and 4 respectively introduce data gathering and data analysis. Section 5 presents the results and section 6 is a concluding discussion on these findings.

2. Journalistic articles and quotations.

In journalism, an umbrella term for texts such as news, profiles and fact-focused articles is *journalistic article*. In terms of family resemblance, they all share some particular characteristics. Firstly, they are produced by journalists, distributed as a printed compilation (although electronic platforms have diversified this situation) and financed by subscription fees, advertising revenues and/or by some interest group. Secondly, journalistic articles can be described in terms of their consumption; by reading them, the audience seeks information, benefit and entertainment (Tammi 2016). Furthermore, the frequent use of quotations is undoubtedly one recognisable characteristic of most written journalistic articles (e.g. Gibson & Hester 2000). In brief, a journalistic article is shaped by a relatively stable set of conventions that is associated with a socially ratified type of activity (Fairclough 1992).

As for the origin of quotations in journalistic articles, quotations are almost solely based on oral interviews. Indeed, a major part of an article content is often based on interviews, although these recontextualised elements are only occasionally manifested as direct or indirect quoting (Haapanen 2016c; 2016a). Therefore, a journalistic interview is clearly (one of) the conventionalized premise(s) for information gathering in journalistic work (Ekström 2006), and it can be regarded as a separate, self-motivated genre: The oral, (most commonly) face-to-face interview is performed in a somewhat conventional way and, despite the variations in execution, it has an explicit purpose – most obviously, to gather information for an article − as well as a fixed structure and predetermined participant roles.

As the fundamental source for the journalistic article and its quotations is the journalistic interview, the relation between the interview and the article is an important research problem. In this study, this relationship is conceptualised as *an intertextual chain*. This term, coined by Fairclough (1992: 130–133), refers to the transformational relation between texts. During this "chaining", a particular type of text is transformed into another type of text "in regular and predictable ways" (ibid. 130). Norman Fairclough exemplifies this procedure by citing the chain which links press releases with news, or medical consultations with medical records. This paper focuses on these conventional ways that guide the process of formulating quotations in written journalism.

To describe this "chaining" process in detail, I have adopted a theoretical model of journalistic quoting (see Haapanen 2016a), which is based on the notion of *recontextualisation* as defined by Per Linell. He defines recontextualisation as "the dynamic transfer-and-transformation of something from one discourse/text-in-context […] to another" (Linell 1998: 154). Following Linell (ibid. 154–155), this model structures the process of "transfer-and-transformation" from an interview to quotations into three sub-processes. It is important to note that this model is a simplification, and regardless of its chronological arrangement as presented in the following paragraphs, the sub-processes are not so clearly defined and organised in reality, as they can overlap and occur simultaneously.

The first sub-process is called *decontextualisation*. This refers to the process involving the journalist selecting and extracting the segments of the interview discourse s/he decides to exploit as a quotation in the journalistic article. In practice – and contrary to the guidance of manuals – journalists may combine utterances from two or more places in an interview into one single quotation, or merely quote the content of the original text with new wording, such as turning points of the narration.

The second sub-process is *contextualisation*, which refers to a journalist positioning the selected discourse into the article – often, if not always, into a co-text that is different from the original. During this sub-process, the material to be quoted is monologised: the interactive turn exchange as well as the presence and influence of the journalist in the original oral discourse is predominantly obscured in the article and the quotations are presented as the interviewee's independent, continuous and spontaneous speech (e.g. Haapanen 2016b; Ekström 2001; Nylund 2006a).

The third sub-process is *textualisation*. This sub-process refers to a journalist modifying both textual and linguistic form and meaning. In addition, s/he might make deletions, changes and insertions in the quoted material. However, the quality and quantity of these actions can range from minor revisions to substantial alterations. Moreover, journalists also formulate quotations that do not seem to be based on the journalistic interview they allegedly come from.

This paper adopts the three-part model of recontextualisation as a framework for gathering and analysing the data, which will be covered in the next section.

3. Data and methodology.

Determining the answers to my research question required data and methods that capture the practitioners' chain of thought, writing strategies and intentions. A typical option for my data gathering would have been to conduct an inquiry that was based on interviews. However, this approach involves indirect access to mental processes, as the data would be based solely on the informants' explanations regarding what they were thinking and what they were both willing and able to share with the researcher. (Grésillon & Perrin 2014) This challenge materialised in my earlier research (Haapanen 2011) when I conducted a series of semi-structured interviews with experienced journalists and journalism educators inquiring about their perceptions on quoting. The answers I received mostly repeated the idealistic standpoints expressed in journalism guidebooks and textbooks (see also Mitchell & Rosenstiel 2000). However, my own experience as a journalist made me realise the possible discrepancy between what informants claimed they did and what they actually did in practice.

It therefore became apparent to me that adopting only a conventional retrospective protocol, such as a semi-structured interview, would not work. Instead, a retrospective protocol needs to be linked concretely to the parts of the intertextual chain, that is, an interview and (the writing of) an article, to provide a better insight into concrete and actual work practices. Therefore, to overcome these potential problems in validity, I adopted the method of *Stimulated Recall* (SR)[2]. Traditionally, an SR begins with videotaping a selected person at work, after which the person is asked to view and comment on the video. The method is designed to increase the person's awareness of his/her performance and thus to reconstruct the trains of thought the person had while working. Due to the stimulus (the videotape), the method also prompts informants to "discuss processes and interactions that they otherwise might have neglected" (Smagorinsky 1994: xv; see also Dempsey 2010: 350–351).

In general, SR is a flexible tool for various research frameworks (e.g. DiPardo 1994). In my application of the method, I used the transcript of the recording of the original journalistic interview[3] and the published article as stimuli for the reconstruction of the quoting process. Additionally, two aspects of my research design served to particularly enhance its reliability. Firstly, I guaranteed the anonymity of my informant-journalists, and this encouraged them to speak honestly about a sensitive topic. Secondly, I clearly introduced my own history as a journalist at the beginning of each SR session. Thus, the informant-journalists were aware that I was familiar with the various strategies that journalists used in quoting, and as a consequence, the informants were more likely to comment also on those quoting practices that contradicted the prevalent guidelines. Let us now turn to review the step-by-step procedures of the SR, which begins with two preparatory phases that are followed by the two cycles of the actual SR.

3.1. Preparatory phases.

Before an actual SR session, two preparatory phases were completed. During the first phase, I requested that sixteen Finnish print media journalists (who had from 3 to 20 years of work experience) record one or two of their journalistic interviews for me. At this point, I did not divulge the exact nature of what I was studying. A rough transcript was then prepared for each of these recordings and these transcripts constitute Stimulus 1.

During the second preparatory phase, I collected the articles based on the aforementioned journalistic interviews. The types of these articles as well as the platforms of publication vary considerably. Indeed, the articles can be described as news articles, fact-focused articles, interview articles and profiles[4]. They were published in newspapers, magazines, customer magazines ("B-to-C magazines") as well as in web-publications. These articles comprised Stimulus 2. I then located the specific passages of text in Stimulus 1 that the quotations in the published articles were based on, and transcribed these passages in detail. Stimulus 1 and 2 are presented in Table 1. The example is an excerpt from an article published in a Finnish business magazine. The topic of the article is the career and company of an interviewee who is an immigrant from

[2] The SR has been most frequently used in the analysis of learning processes, interpersonal skills and decision-making in the field of educational, medical/clinical and second-language research (for overview, see Lyle 2003), but it has also been applied to media research (e.g. Rautkorpi 2011).
[3] Videotaping might have distorted the original interaction between the journalist and the interviewee. The audio recording, in contrast, worked flawlessly, as it is commonly used in the field of journalism.
[4] It should be noted that my data do not contain extensive literary-journalistic reportages, and this may have some impact on the array of practices unfolded in this paper.

China. Both the journalistic interview and the article were originally in Finnish, but they are translated here into English[5].

Stimulus 1: Transcription of the interview	Stimulus 2: Published article
Before the section below, the interviewee and the journalist reflected on the importance of language skills and local education for immigrants. **Interviewee:** although I was so good… I can say that I was a diploma engineer and everything… education and career and… at the peak [of my career] in China that time **Journalist:** yeah **Interviewee:** but when I came here I am… a zero… **Journalist:** was it a hard situation to accept **Interviewee:** yes yes it was	At Midsummer of 1994, Wang's life changed completely when she arrived to a deserted Helsinki with her husband. "In China I was a successful diploma engineer[6], here I was nothing. It was hard to accept."

Table 1: The transcript of a journalistic interview and a quotation based on it.

In the actual stimulated recall sessions that generated my data, I met each of the informant-journalists individually. I conducted SR sessions with 11 out of the 16 informants because at this point, their answers appeared to be "saturated" in that new aspects no longer seemed to arise. Each of these eleven informants has his/her personal identification number (I–XI), and whenever the excerpts from these SR sessions are mentioned, the informant's number is located at the end of the data excerpt.

The SR session began with enquiry of the informant's biographical information (such as education, work history, and received guidance on quoting, if any) and this was followed by two cycles of close reading of the transcript and the published article. These cycles were designed to reveal the practices of each of the quotation-making sub-processes: *decontextualisation*, *contextualisation* as well as *textualisation*. I shall describe these two cycles below.

[5] Since the interviewee is a non-native Finnish speaker, she not only has a foreign accent, but also makes frequent errors in inflection and word choice. However, these features were all "corrected" into standard Finnish in the original quotation in the article, and I have likewise not even attempted to replicate the incorrect language features in the transcript of the original journalistic interview. The original version of the example along with a complete analysis of it can be found in Haapanen (2016c, in English in 2016b).

[6] *Diploma engineer* ('Master of Science in Technology') is a word-for-word translation of the Finnish degree of *diplomi-insinööri*, which refers to an engineer with a university degree.

3.2. First and second cycle of the SR.

During the first cycle of the SR, the informant-journalist and I as a researcher examined each of the quotations in the published article separately. The aim of this first cycle of the SR was to determine the practices and motives concerning the first and second sub-process of the process of quoting, namely decontextualisation and contextualisation. In practice, I asked the informant-journalist[7] to explain, firstly, her reason for selecting this particular text segment or content to be quoted, and secondly, why the quotation was positioned in this particular place in the article. Below are excerpts of the journalists' answers regarding (a) decontextualisation and (b) contextualisation in the data excerpts presented in Table 1.

a)

Researcher: Why did you decide to use quotations in the first place and why did you select this particular segment to be quoted?

Informant-journalist: "Because this is a profile story where the interviewee is talking about themselves, of course the story will contain quotes. Here the interviewee presents opinions and also emotional matters, which she was allowed to say herself in the story". (I)

b)

Researcher: Why was the quotation positioned in this particular place?

Informant-journalist: "First of all, what's practical about magazine writing is that you don't have to chronologically follow the course of the interview, as you can construct the story-line while writing the article afterwards. Additionally, the quotes and the body text need to form a kind of natural exchange, so that the text proceeds smoothly". (I)

During the second cycle of the SR, the informant and I closely read the published article and the transcript of the journalistic interview. The main objective of this SR cycle was to determine the practices and intentions for textualisation of the quoted discourse. In practice, the informants were asked the following: How would you describe your process of quoting in this particular case? Why did you edit the quoted material in this way? What influenced the process?

Below, there is an answer (c) describing the quoting practice of textualisation between the data excerpts presented in Table 1[8].

c)

Informant-journalist: "The point is that reality is what it all is based on – so that nothing is like coloured. But the fact is that these modifications happen all the time because quotations should be in proper standard Finnish – readable and smooth, not kinda clunky". (I)

The answers concerning each of the three sub-processes of the quoting model were handled and analysed separately. All the SR sessions were tape-recorded and, as preparation for analysis, transcribed.

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[7] When referring to my informant-journalists or to the interviewees mentioned in their articles, to maintain anonymity, I will consistently use the feminine pronoun regardless of the gender of the person in question.
[8] The particular SR data excerpts (a), (b) and (c) will be further examined in section 5.

4. Analysis.

The analysis of this research focused on the data which consist of the verbal protocols related to the quoting practices. In this analysis, I applied the two-cycle procedure proposed by Saldaña (2009). The first cycle identifies similar quoting processes, which emerged from the data, and then labels them with a common code. The second cycle identifies the similarities within these codes and organises similar codes into categories. These categories are the quoting practices that my informant-journalists use and can recognise from their work process. The coding and categorisation took place according to each of the three sub-processes of recontextualisation. The analysis was conducted with ATLAS.ti. The two cycles of coding are described below and summarised in Table 2 with illustrative coding and categorisation examples.

Firstly, I demarcated all the individual segments where the informant-journalists somehow comment on their process of quoting. This diverse set of segments was subsequently coded with focused conceptualisations of the content of the segments. In the names of the codes, following Saldaña (2009), I used gerunds ("-ing" words) to help define what was actually occurring in each data segment. The segments with shared features, as those in terms of topic, purpose, goal, or practice, were assigned the same code.

After the data were coded, I categorised and reorganised the codes according to the similarity of the patterns of quoting process to eventually reach a compact number of conceptual categories (*pattern coding*, according to Saldaña 2009: 152). Since the categories are assigned conceptual names, which are more abstract than those given for the codes, the categories have the power to unite those conceptualisations pertaining to the same phenomenon.

I applied three conditions to enhance the credibility of my research. These conditions, which are elaborated on below, were to maintain the relevance of the analysis and keep its focus on the practices the informant-journalists have actually performed. Furthermore, these conditions were to prevent the analysis from becoming negatively influenced by the informant-journalists' second guessing what the researcher wanted to hear and from renewing the idealistic jargon of verbatim quoting (see Observer's Paradox in Labov 1972).

- Condition 1. My analysis only considered those work practices that the informant-journalists actually recognised by themselves. In other words, I did not analyse practices that were not mentioned by the informant-journalists in SR interviews, even though they could have been plausibly inferred from the journalistic interviews, from their published articles, or from the research literature.
- Condition 2. I considered only those sections that I was able to "confirm". That is, when the informant-journalist states "I took this filler word out" and points to an expletive that exists in the interview transcript, but not in the article, this phrase in the SR transcript was assigned the process code of <REMOVING EXPLETIVES>. However, I disregarded the sections where the informant-journalist imagined what she might have done in some hypothetical situation (for example, with the informant-journalist: "The demand for faithful word-for-word repetition could be important in those situations where

the matter at hand is questionable, as in political matters, when someone denies something or justifies it. But this [= the article under scrutiny in this SR] isn't that kind of story".).

- Condition 3. I did not include marginal practices that were mentioned by one informant only. However, these marginal examples are worth mentioning here because they reflect the diversity and often the practice-driven nature of quoting. Some of these occasional codes were the following: <QUOTING DIRECTLY BECAUSE DID NOT FULLY COMPREHEND THE INTERVIEWEE>, <SELECTING QUOTATIONS TO REACH A BALANCED PRESENCE BETWEEN INTERVIEWEES>, <INVENTING SOME WORDS BECAUSE THEY WERE UNCLEAR IN THE RECORDING>, <DISREGARDING THE WORD-FOR-WORD FIDELITY TO REDUCE HER OWN TIME CONSUMPTION>.

Table 2 comprises the analytical procedure of the data presented in section 3. I first identified and coded segments from the stimulated recall sessions. Then, I categorised these codes into groups of thematically and complementarily related codes. The last row of the table shows all the parallel categories in the same sub-process of the recontextualisation process. I will elaborate on these categories in detail in the next section.

The sub-process of the recontextualisation	**Decontextualisation (selection & extraction)**	**Contextualisation (positioning)**	**Textualisation (modification)**
The extract from an SR session in which the informant-journalist (I) comments on her process of quoting in this particular sub-process	*Researcher: …why did you select this particular segment to be quoted?* Informant-journalist: “Here the interviewee presents opinions and also emotional matters, which she was allowed to say herself in the story”. (I) ↓	*Researcher: Why was the quotation positioned in this particular place?* Informant-journalist: “First of all, what’s practical about magazine writing is that you don’t have to chronologically follow the course of the interview, as you can construct the storyline while writing the article afterwards”. (I) ↓	*Researcher: Why did you modify the quote this way?* Informant-journalist: “The point is that reality is what it all is based on – so that nothing is like coloured. But the fact is that these modifications happen all the time because quotations should be in proper standard Finnish – readable and smooth, not kinda clunky”. (I) ↓
Code	<TELLING AN OPINION>	<NOT NEEDING TO FOLLOW THE INTERVIEW>	<MODIFYING INTO PROPER STANDARD LANGUAGE>
Similar codes	• CHARACTERISING THE SPEAKER • DESCRIBING PERSONAL DELIVERY • DESCRIBING THE SPEAKER’S RELATION TO THE SUBJECT MATTER • CONVEYING FIRST-HAND INFORMATION • DESCRIBING THE INTERVIEWEE’S WAY OF SEEING THE ISSUE	• MERGING SEVERAL UTTERANCES INTO ONE QUOTATION • CONSTRUCTING THE NARRATION OF THE ARTICLE	• DELETING SPOKEN LANGUAGE FEATURES • SIMPLIFYING CLAUSE STRUCTURE • COMPLETING THE “SPOKEN” SPELLING OF WORDS • IMPROVING THE READABILITY
Main category (practice)	CONSTRUCTING THE PERSONA OF THE INTERVIEWEE	CONSTRUCTING THE NARRATION	STANDARDISING THE LINGUISTIC FORM
Other categories (in this sub-process) The total number of codes combined in the category is in brackets.	• DISCLAIMING RESPONSIBILITY (6) • ADDING PLAUSIBILITY TO THE ARTICLE (4)	• PACING THE STRUCTURE (5)	• INTENTIONALLY INCLUDING VERNACULAR ASPECTS (5) • CLARIFYING THE ORIGINAL MESSAGE (3) • SHARPENING THE FUNCTION OF THE QUOTATION (8)

Table 2: An example of the course of analysis.

5. Results.

This section presents my findings on the quoting practices that the informant-journalists acknowledged. I recognise that the field of journalism is too broad and heterogeneous for any amount of qualitative data to exhaustively cover the quoting practices in written journalism. However, due to the diversity of the informant-journalists included in my study, I suggest that these results can, in fact, be generalised in a broader context.

In the stimulated recall sessions (section 3) as well as the data analysis (section 4), the process of quoting was divided into three sub-processes based on my theoretical propositions (Haapanen 2016a). Accordingly, I identified nine quoting practices and I will present them in this section classified under the particular sub-processes of quoting in which they occur. These nine practices dynamically create the intertextual chain between the journalistic interviews and the quotations that occur in the journalistic articles.

To obtain an overview of quoting that transcends any individual quoting practices, I attempted to connect the categories axially in order to detect a *core category* (Saldaña 2009: 163–167). A core category is composed of all the products of the analysis condensed into a few words, and thus will “explain variation as well as the main point made by the data” (Strauss & Corbin 1998: 147). In other words, a core category needs to cover, and have an explanatory relevance for, all the practices revealed in this research, and therefore it needs to be a sufficiently abstract concept so that all the categories can be linked to it. The core category of this research is the overarching objective of <EXECUTING THE OBJECTIVE(S) OF THE ARTICLE OVER THE DEMAND FOR “DIRECTNESS”>. In practical words, journalists aim primarily to make a good story with good quotes, not to transform spoken utterances into a written format as verbatim as possible, nor to maintain the exact meaning of these utterances.

It is important that the “objective of the article over the demand for ‘directness’” be understood here as constituting an ideal preparation of an article in terms of content as well as the manner of representation. In other words, a journalist receives an assignment describing the task that she must complete, and this task serves as the objective the journalist strives to achieve when searching for sources, selecting interviewees, outlining the text, and finally writing an article. During this process of completing the task, she also formulates quotations by adopting the practices that will be presented in this section. However, it is worth noting that this same task, which will be realised as an article, might also serve other objectives for the other stakeholders in publishing, such as chief editors, media managers, and publishers as well as the target audience. This aspect will be discussed further at the end of this article.

5.1 Practices of decontextualisation.

The duration of the journalistic interviews comprising my data varied between a few minutes and almost two hours. In each case, only selected parts of the interview are used as direct quotations in the article. These *decontextualisation practices* were classified into three categories.

a) Constructing the persona of the interviewee.

Journalists tend to quote the opinions, insights, viewpoints and other personal perceptions that describe the interviewee's mindset. In addition, utterances that reflect how the interviewee structures her thoughts and her reactions towards a subject matter are likewise quotable, as are utterances that describe the interviewee's delivery and distinctive manner of speaking.

> Informant-journalist: "I wanted the quote to be that difficult to understand, because I find someone speaking in such a complicated manner terribly interesting." (II)
>
> Informant-journalist: "If someone has an interesting or individualistic way of saying things, they are great to replicate in the quotations". (III)
>
> Informant-journalist: "I wanted to place that item in to the quote because it was so peculiar". (IV)

b) Disclaiming responsibility.

The source of information is indicated by a quotation, or more precisely, the reporting clause. Journalists quote utterances on subject matters that cannot be easily verified, and thus they protect themselves by transferring the responsibility for the factual content to the interviewee. Quotations marks also confirm − or rather aim at creating an illusion − that word choices and other linguistic details in the quotation are originally from the interviewee.

> Researcher: If those issues weren't in a direct quotation, might they lack credibility?
>
> Informant-journalist: "Exactly, that's because they are expressed in such a unique way". (V)
>
> Informant-journalist: "Usually when a start-up entrepreneur speaks about her future and goals, I want to write the statements as direct quotations. That way the entrepreneur is personally responsible for what they said". (VI)
>
> Informant-journalist: "Because it's impossible to check this, I can't get that info from anywhere". [The informant-journalist tries to account for why she quoted directly.] (VII)

c) Adding plausibility to the article

A quotation that is attributed to an expert-interviewee strengthens her presence in the article (which is an intrinsic value in human-centred articles), and this in turn gives further credence to the veracity of the factual content covered in the article. Indeed, informant-journalists generally perceive quotations as having particular significance in relation to the body text of the article, and it therefore makes sense to place important and interesting content into a quotation. Furthermore, any content presented in the form of a quotation gains added value.

> Informant-journalist: "They were such strong and extreme opinions and I wanted to emphasise that, so I placed them in a quotation. In my opinion, when something is in a quotation it has more weight". (II)
>
> Informant-journalist: "It gains more credibility when the person says it themselves. It might be a little milder way to use 'according to Ms X…' or 'in Ms X's opinion…'". (VII)

5.2 Practices of contextualisation.

Journalistic articles are not accounts of the course of the journalistic interviews they are based on. Therefore, the decontextualised segments cannot be mechanically transferred to their "right places" in the article. Instead, this contextualisation process requires deliberate and conscious decision-making.

a) Constructing the narration

A journalistic article is not an account of the course of a journalistic interview, but an independent text entity. For this reason, informant-journalists place the quoted content in the article in a way that best fits and contributes to the storyline.

> [Informant-journalist explained the merging of several sections from the interview into one single quotation.]
>
> "Here I'm also justifying this with that need for succinctness. Since we talk about that same thing in both sections and combining them doesn't alter either statement, then I think it's okay to do that". (VIII)
>
> Informant-journalist: "In a profile article like this, where the whole point is to characterise that person and bring up interesting things about her, then I think it's okay to change the order [of topics covered in the interview] more freely". (II).

b) Pacing the structure

The quotations and the body text need to alternate in a smooth and natural way. Journalists seem to share the common principle that they will not incorporate two quotations in succession without having at least a reporting clause between them. Furthermore, relatively short quotations are preferred and long quotations are avoided, although there are variations on formal preferences among journalists (cf. the first data extract below). Another observation is that the length of the final quotations does not need to correlate with the length of the original stretches of talk on which the quotation is based. In other words, however long the original stretches of text might be, they are truncated into relatively short quotations.

> Informant-journalist: "Generally I like long quotations, so that you let the interviewee really say and describe her way of thinking". (IX)
>
> Informant-journalist: "I'm trying to create an impression that me and the interviewee sort of tell this story together. I say something and the interviewee comments it. This dialogue moves the story forward, and it's also a kind of rhythm thing". (II)
>
> Informant-journalist: "That first quote came pretty late. Usually I like to bring in the interviewee a little closer to the beginning of the article". (IX).

5.3 Practices of textualisation.

Quotations need to meet and fulfil their functions in the narration of the article (see Haapanen 2011). This often requires substantial modifications to the textual and linguistic form of the quoted text. However, it is important to note that when the original discourse fulfils the target that the journalist has set for this particular quotation-in-the-making, it can be quoted in its original linguistic form without modification.

a) Standardising the linguistic form.

Quotations are modified into standard language on a routine basis. This requires both deleting the "disfluencies" caused by the on-line nature of spoken language (such as colloquial words, re-starts, self-corrections and expletives) and simplifying clause structures that reflect the oral origin in their fragmental shape.

> Informant-journalist: "I don't feel the need to make my interviewees appear stupid in these stories [published in a regular column], so I want to portray them saying grammatically correct things in a comprehensible way". (VI)
>
> Informant-journalist: "We've talked in the office about editing quotations and our boss has given guidelines that the same grammatical rules that apply to the body text also apply to the quotations. This means that we don't have to leave colloquialisms into the quote unless leaving them in serves some specific purpose". (VIII).

b) Intentionally including vernacular aspects.

Deviations from universal standardisation are acceptable as a "flavour" (II), but these deviations need to serve some specific function in the storyline. Most often they concern a single informal word or phrase and thus they usually characterise the interviewee by indicating his/her original word choice or enunciation.

> Informant-journalist: "The story is about a Syrian man, who lives in South-eastern Finland. He used the word 'mie', which showed how well he's assimilated into Finland. So I included it once in the quotation". [*Mie* is a dialectical variant of the pronoun *minä* 'I'.] (I)
>
> Informant-journalist: "In a TV interview, you can see and hear the whole thing, questions and answers and the way they talk and explain things. All this gets easily left out in print articles, and that's why I think writing the quotation as verbatim as possible is the only way to inject a genuine feel to the story. Though of course some alterations and editing are unavoidable". (III)

The aforementioned quoting practices (a) Standardising the linguistic form and (b) Intentionally including vernacular aspects are all-embracing in my data. However, these strategies do not account for a considerable number of modifications. These modifications involve deletions and insertions as well as changes in the order of elements ranging from a suffix or word, to a phrase or a longer stretch of text. It is noteworthy that insertions can also include some linguistic elements that do not exist in the journalistic interview. To explain these modifications, the informant-journalists mentioned the following two practices.

c) Clarifying the original message.

Deletions, insertions and other modifications are used to clarify and condense the original message that the interviewee disseminates through quotation (or to be more accurate, the journalists clarify *their own* interpretation of the message). The following are the informant-journalists' observations on this:

> Informant-journalist: "You know that people talk in a way that you understand when you speak with them, but then if you write that down, it can no longer be understood by anyone who wasn't present at the time; so you have to write it so that the reader can understand what's being said". (I)
>
> Informant-journalist: "The content has to be accurate, but you can modify the text grammatically so that it's more readable and understandable". (VII)
>
> Informant-journalist: "I think that when I first wrote that quote, I had a kind of feeling that there might be a risk of misunderstanding or incomprehension. So I added that 'I went to bed', it clarifies the whole thing – and it's probably true". (V).

d) Sharpening the function of the quotation.

Essentially, the modifications are made so that the quotations fulfil their function in the storyline. In other words, certain material is selected (decontextualised) from the interview and positioned (contextualised) into the storyline for some specific reason; and the quotation is modified (textualised) in a way that best fulfils this task.

> One emphatic quotation includes the Finnish word *helvetti,* 'hell', as a curse word. However, in the very section on which the quotation was based, the interviewee did not use the word *hell* or any other curse word − although it should be mentioned that the interviewee cursed profusely during the interview in general. During the SR session, the informant-journalist (V) told the researcher that the function of the insertion was to add "a couple of hammer blows to the end of that quotation".
>
> Informant-journalist: "We have really tight space restrictions and at the same time, we have to cover major issues from multiple angles. So that's why I think it's justifiable to make those kinds of changes [= deleting some words and repetitions which are caused by the process-likeness of spoken discourse], since they don't alter the meaning in any way". (VIII)
>
> Informant-journalist: "The interview section for this quote was pretty informal and disjointed, more like random chatting, but I had to pack it tightly in to the article. Therefore, all the colloquial meandering had to be taken out, and so did all the incomplete thoughts and ambiguous expressions". (X)
>
> Informant-journalist: "This ain't a true direct quotation, more like a five-minute rant which I then condensed into a two-line quote, and I think it's okay to do something like that because that's in line with stories like this and because I had sent the story to her for checking [prior to publication] − which is common practice with these stories − and she was okay with the quote". (VI)
>
> Researcher: The body text leading up to the quotation is different from the question to which the quote is given as an answer. I mean, the interpretational context has changed.
>
> Informant-journalist: "That's true. When I wrote the story I slightly altered the theme we discussed in the interview and then I placed this quote under the new theme". (III).

6. Conclusion.

In the spirit of media linguistics, this paper has been guided by both theory and practice while it also claims to add back value to both of them. The main argument of this paper is that it is useful to conceptualise the relation between journalistic interviews and the quotations in journalistic articles as an *intertextual chain*. With respect to theory, this analysis classified the process of "chaining" into nine practices and presented each practice under the particular sub-process of the process of recontextualisation it serves.

In *decontextualisation*, journalists aim at (1) constructing the persona of the interviewee, (2) disclaiming the responsibility for the content, and/or (3) adding plausibility to the article. In *contextualisation*, journalists aim at (4) constructing the narration and (5) pacing the structure. In *textualisation*, journalists aim at (6) standardising the linguistic form, although they occasionally (7) allow some vernacular aspects that serve a particular purpose in the storyline. Furthermore, journalists aim at (8) clarifying the original message and (9) sharpening the function of the quotation.

In order to acquire a broader view of quoting beyond any single practice, I connected the categories into the *core category* of <EXECUTING THE OBJECTIVE(S) OF THE ARTICLE OVER THE DEMAND FOR "DIRECTNESS">. This core category covers and has a high explanatory relevance for all the practices revealed in this research. In doing so, it indicates – contrary to the prevalent perception of journalism guidebooks – that quoting in written journalism does not primarily aim either at replicating the quoted text verbatim, or at maintaining its exact meaning. This finding is in line with the observations made about television news production: Both the interviews as well as the editing of the news stories are guided by the reporter's preliminary idea of what the emerging story should and could look like, rather than by the actual outcome of the interviews (Altheide 1974: 76; Clayman 1995: 124; Nylund 2003: 530; 2006a: 220; Sand & Helland 1998: 231. Cf. Kroon Lundell & Ekström 2010: 488).

The core category <EXECUTING THE OBJECTIVE(S) OF THE ARTICLE OVER THE DEMAND FOR "DIRECTNESS"> also applies more widely to the process of making an article: For instance, the objectives of an article are negotiated before the gathering of information. This gathering, in turn, may lead to a revisit of the objectives; and these revisited objectives sometimes lead to different decisions than the original objectives. Finally, all these back and forth processes also affect the quotations.

Furthermore, the all-embracing core category does not appear out of thin air. One can presume that the fundamental motives for these objectives derive from factors such as the publishers' ideological values and purposes, the financial basis of publications, the needs and interests of the audience and, furthermore, the current journalistic culture and the societal context in which publishing takes place at large (see Kang 2007; Helle & Töyry 2009). To confirm all these assumptions, further research beyond the scope of the data and methods used in this article is required.

Another theoretical outcome of this study concerns a phenomenon that I call *monologisation* (Haapanen 2016b). This notion refers to the common procedure of eliminating the interview situation's interactive turn exchange between an interviewee and a journalist and presenting the quoted interaction in the article as the interviewee's independent, continuous and spontaneous speech. However, this study indicates that journalists may not be aware of this procedure. In the stimulated recall sessions, my informant-journalists did not encapsulate and conceptualise this process of *monologisation* at all. This is a significant "blind spot" for professional journalists to have and therefore it deserves more profound consideration.

From the perspective of practice, this analysis has demonstrated that the definitions of journalism terminology handbooks and the guidance of guidebooks and textbooks are contradictory to the actual and deliberately executed quoting practices of journalists. Therefore, the dissemination of actual quoting practices is not only useful but also essential for practitioners and newcomers alike. It is also fair to the audience: a question of the truthfulness of quotations and journalism in general is, to a great extent, a question of the transparency of the principles of work practices[9]. The results of my study have already been disseminated in lectures and through participation in public discussion both within the field of journalism as well as among the readers. Furthermore, the stimulated recall sessions themselves raised awareness and created positive experiences among the informants who were involved in my study.

In essence, quotations are a common and effective means for a number of reasons in written journalism. In order to formulate quotations as a journalist and to interpret them as a reader, it is necessary to understand the common objectives adopted in quoting and the circumstances involved in quoting. Furthermore, besides being interesting in their own right, quoting practices are a window for perceiving and better understanding the complex and intrinsically contradictory activity of journalistic writing.

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[9] I owe this insight to my colleague Hanna Weselius, who made it originally about journalistic photos.

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Article III

Haapanen, Lauri. 2016. Haastattelupuheen rekontekstualisointi sitaateiksi lehtijuttuun [Recontextualising interview discourse into quotations for written media]. *Virittäjä* 120(2): 218–254.

Haastattelupuheen rekontekstualisointi sitaateiksi lehtijuttuun

Lauri Haapanen

1 Johdanto

Referointi eli aiemmin esitetyn tai kuvitellun puheen, kirjoittamisen tai ajattelun representointi oman puheen tai tekstin osana on keskeinen kielenkäytön ilmiö. Lukuisista, osin kielikohtaisista referoinnin keinoista (ks. Kuiri 1984: 1) suora esitys eli sitaatti on referointimuoto, jossa referoija ikään kuin luopuu kontrollistaan suhteessa referoitavaan henkilöön (Kalliokoski 2005). Toisin sanoen suorassa esityksessä säilyvät paitsi alkuperäisen puhujan sanat ja rakenteet myös alkuperäinen propositionaalinen sisältö ja illokutiivinen sävy (Short 1988: 67–71; vrt. esim. Penttilä 1963: 647; Kuiri 1984: 3; Koski 1985: 76; ISK 2004 § 1457).

Edellä mainittu kontrollista luopuminen on toki vain näennäistä. Se, millä tavoin suora esitys käytännössä toteutuu, vaihtelee merkittävästi kulloisenkin kielenkäyttötilanteen mukaan ja pyrkii palvelemaan juuri kyseisen tilanteen tarkoitusperiä (esim. Ekström 2006; Scollon 2004). Tässä artikkelissa tutkin suoraa esittämistä osana journalistista työprosessia.[1] Tarkemmin sanoen selvitän empiirisen aineiston pohjalta sitä, mikä on journalistisessa haastattelussa esitetyn puheen ja siitä lehtijuttuun[2] tehdyn suoran esityksen eli sitaatin suhde. Lisäksi tarkoitukseni on jäsentää, millaisia osaprosesseja journalistinen siteeraus sisältää.

Siitä, miten puhetta tulisi sitaateiksi kirjata, on toimitustyön alalla vain vähän ohjeistuksia saati sääntöjä. Huomionarvoista ensinnäkin on, ettei suuri osa opaskirjallisuudesta käsittele siteerausprosessia käytännössä ollenkaan (esim. Clark 2006; Flaherty 2009; Jacobi 1991; Kotilainen 2003; Kramer & Call toim. 2007; Lundberg 1992, 2001). Ne oppaat, jotka siteeraamista ohjeistavat, voi jakaa karkeasti kahteen: jyrkimpien näkemysten mukaan haastattelussa esitetyn puheen ja siitä tehdyn sitaatin tulee vastata toisiaan sanatarkasti (esim. Adams 2001: 80–83; Goldstein 2009: 232), kun taas

1. Kiitän erityisesti Ritva Laurya, Henna Makkonen-Craigia ja Minna Jaakolaa artikkelikäsikirjoituksen kommentoinnista sen eri vaiheissa. Lisäksi kiitän *Virittäjän* anonyymejä arvioijia paneutuneista kommenteista ja arvokkaista muokkausehdotuksista, joiden myötä artikkelin rakenne, käsitevalinnat ja analyysi selvästi paranivat.

2. Käytän journalistisesta artikkelista nimityksiä *lehtijuttu* ja *juttu*, koska ne ovat media-alalla vakiintuneessa käytössä olevaa sanastoa (Kuutti 2012: 77).

maltillisemmissa näkemyksissä kielellisen asun hienoinen muokkaus sallitaan, kunhan siteerattavan puheen merkitys ei muotoa hiottaessa muutu (esim. Ruberg toim. 2005: 123; Töyry, Räty & Kuisma 2008: 92–93). Sitä, mitä käsitteet muoto ja merkitys näissä yhteyksissä tarkoittavat, ei kuitenkaan juuri täsmennetä. Edellä esitetyt opaskirjallisuuden suuntaviivat ovat nousseet esiin myös silloin, kun toimittajien näkemyksiä siteerauskäytännöistä on selvitetty puolistrukturoiduissa haastattelututkimuksissa (ks. Lee 2004: 114; Haapanen 2011: 80–83). Lainsäädäntöä ei journalistisen työn siteerauskäytännöistä Suomessa ole, eikä toimitustyön itsesääntelyyn tarkoitettu eettinen ohjeisto, *Journalistin ohjeet* (2014), anna siteerauksen käytäntöihin konkreettisia neuvoja. Julkisen sanan neuvosto, joka tulkitsee hyvää journalistista tapaa *Journalistin ohjeiden* pohjalta, on silloin tällöin käsitellyt siteeraukseen liittyviä kanteluita, mutta kattavia linjanvetoja näiden päätösten perusteella ei ole tehtävissä.[3] Yhden suureellisen, yhdeksän vuotta kestäneen oikeustaistelun siteerauksen työkäytänteistä kansainvälinen journalismin historia tuntee (ks. Forde 2008).

Artikkelini edustaa medialingvistiikkaa, joka on (journalistista) mediaa nimenomaan kielenkäytön näkökulmasta tarkasteleva soveltavan kielitieteen tutkimussuunta. Journalistinen media on yhteiskunnallisesti tärkeä toimintaympäristö, ja sen kielenkäyttö eroaa tai voi erota kielenkäytöstä muissa toimintaympäristöistä. Medialingvistiikan kysymyksenasettelut nousevat journalistiselle alalle relevanteista ristiriidoista, ja näitä kysymyksiä tarkastellaan kielentutkimuksen keinoin hyödyntämällä tarvittaessa myös kirjoittamisen tutkimuksen ja yhteiskuntatieteiden teorioita ja menetelmiä. (Esim. NewsTalk&Text Research Group 2011; Perrin 2013.)

Täsmällisemmin artikkelini vastaa viime aikoina voimistuneeseen tutkimusintressiin, joka pyrkii selvittämään kielellisen toiminnan ympärille kietoutuvia työprosesseja uutisjournalismissa (*linguistics of newswriting*, ks. Perrin 2013: 31). Tutkimuksen kohteina ovat olleet muun muassa toimitussihteerien editointityöskentely (Vandendaele, Cuypere & Van Praet 2015), toimittajan rooli lähdemateriaalien representoinnissa (Van Hout & Macgilchrist 2010), multimodaalisuus toimitustyössä (Perrin 2015) sekä toimituksellinen haastattelu ”uutisia tuottavana koneena” (Nylund 2011). Kaikkia näitä tutkimuksia yhdistää empiirinen ja etnografinen tutkimusote.

Toisin kuin edellä mainitut tutkimukset, tämä artikkeli ei rajaudu vain uutisjournalismiin vaan ottaa tarkasteluun myös muuntyyppiset kirjoitetun journalismin julkaisutyypit, kuten aikakauslehdet sekä asiakas- ja järjestölehdet, jotka näyttävät jääneen tutkimuksessa sivuosaan (ks. myös Holmes 2008: viii; Töyry, Saarenmaa & Särkkä 2011). Tiedossani ei ole myöskään sellaista aiempaa tutkimusta, joka osoittaisi, että tietty journalistinen laji- tai alalajityyppi – joiden luokittelu on kaukana yksiselitteisestä (Töyry 2005: 21–25) –, juttutyyppi tai jokin muu yksittäinen tekijä olisi ratkaisevassa asemassa siinä, miten haastattelupuhetta sitaateiksi representoidaan. Muu tutkimus sitä vastoin osoittaa, että siteerauskäytäntöihin vaikuttavat monet tilanteiset muuttujat sekä edelleen lehden ja julkaisijan arvot ja tavoitteet, yleisön toiveet ja yleinen journalistinen kulttuuri (Haapanen, tulossa 2016a, 2016b, 2016c).

3. http://www.jsn.fi/. Ks. siteeraukseen liittyvät päätökset 2000-luvulla päätösnumeroilla 5719, 4814, 4239, 4022, 3563 ja 3249.

Aiempi siteerausta käsittelevä medialingvistinen tutkimus on keskittynyt ennen muuta televisiouutisten tuotannon tarkasteluun (esim. Ekström 2001; Kroon Lundell & Ekström 2010; Nylund 2003), mutta harvalukuinenkin kirjoitettua journalismia käsittelevä sitaattitutkimus kyseenalaistaa sen suoraviivaisuuden, jolla siteerausta alan kirjallisuudessa ohjeistetaan. Johnson Barellan (2005) tutkimuksen mukaan tiedotustilaisuuksien ja julkisten puheiden pohjalta tehtyjen lehtijuttujen sitaateista vain joka viides oli täysin sanatarkka ja muokkaukset vaihtelivat pienistä muutoksista laajaan uudelleenmuotoiluun. Julkisten kokousten, oikeudenkäyntien ja luentojen pohjalta julkaistuja sanomalehtiuutisia tarkastellut Lehrer (1989) havaitsi samansuuntaisesti, että sitaatteihin oli tehty usein huomattavia muutoksia. Siitä huolimatta puheen ja sitaattien perusteella tehtävät tulkinnat olivat hänen mukaansa vain harvoin ristiriidassa keskenään (mas. 120–121). Muita laajoihin empiirisiin aineistoihin perustuvia tutkimuksia toimituksellisessa haastattelussa esitetyn puheen ja siitä lehtijuttuihin tehtyjen suorien esitysten eli sitaattien suhteesta ei tiettävästi ole.[4] Niinpä erityisesti lehtisiteerauksen tutkimukselle on katsottu olevan ”pakottava tarve” (Nylund 2006a: 151). (Ks. Haapanen & Perrin, tulossa 2017.)

Tekstin dialogisuus, intertekstuaalisuus ja polyfonia ovat olleet fennistisen tekstin- ja diskurssintutkimuksen avainkäsitteitä jo 1990-luvulta lähtien (ks. esim. Makkonen-Craig 2014 lähteineen; viimeaikaisista tutkimuksista ks. etenkin Honkanen 2012; Juvonen 2014; Virtanen 2015). Laajemmin tutkimukseni osallistuu keskusteluun siitä, millainen on puheen ja kirjoituksen suhde (esim. Tiittula & Nuolijärvi toim., tulossa 2016) ja erityyppisten aineistojen asema tutkimusaineistona (esim. Karlsson & Makkonen-Craig 2014). Aiemmissa tutkimuksissa puheen ja kirjoituksen suhdetta on jäsennetty analysoimalla muun muassa kuulustelupöytäkirjoja (esim. Jönsson & Linell 1991; Komter 2006; Van Charldorp 2014), eduskunnan pöytäkirjoja (Voutilainen, tulossa 2016; Slembrouck 1992), tutkimushaastatteluja (Maynard & Schaeffer 2006) ja terapiaistuntoja (Ravotas & Berkenkotter 1998). Oma lajinsa ovat tutkimusasetelmat, joissa kielellisesti ja kielitieteellisesti kouluttamattomia henkilöitä on pyydetty siirtämään puhuttua vuorovaikutusta kirjalliseen muotoon (Haviland 1996). Yksityiskohtaisen analyysin avulla nämä tutkimukset ovat osoittaneet, että kielenaines muuttuu monella tavalla, kun sitä siirretään puheesta kirjoitukseksi. Erityisesti tähän muuntoprosessiin vaikuttavat käytössä oleva viestintäkanava ja institutionaalinen konteksti.

Artikkelini jakautuu kuuteen lukuun. Luvussa 2 esittelen teoreettisena viitekehyksenä toimivan rekontekstualisoinnin käsitteen ja luvussa 3 tutkimusaineiston ja -menetelmän. Luku 4 on analyysiluku, jossa kuvaan, millä tavoin haastattelussa tuotettu kielenkäyttö siirtyy sitaatiksi lehtijuttuun. Luvussa 5 kokoan yhteen tutkimuksessa havaitut siteerauksen tendenssit. Artikkeli päättyy tuloksia tarkastelevaan lukuun 6.

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4. Esimerkiksi Bell (1991) käyttää aineistonaan omia, toimittajana käsin tekemiään muistiinpanoja. Cotter (2010: 148–151) puolestaan esittelee sitaattien tehtävien ohella muutamia havaintoja siitä, miten puhetta kirjoitukseksi muokataan. Hän ei kuitenkaan eksplikoi, millaisen aineiston perusteella havainnot on tehty, ja havainnot vaikuttavat perustuvan sekä yleisiin käsityksiin siteerauksesta (erit. mts. 148) että hänen omiin kokemuksiinsa toimittajan työssä (erit. mts. 149–150).

2 Rekontekstualisoinnin käsite

Intertekstuaalisuus on kielen lähtökohtainen ja läpileikkaava ominaisuus, minkä vuoksi siitä on tullut humanistisilla ja yhteiskuntatieteellisillä aloilla taajaan ja monin eri tavoin käytetty käsite (Bahtin 1981; Fairclough 1992; Heikkinen, Lauerma & Tiililä 2012; Solin 2006). Laajasti ottaen intertekstuaalisuus tarkoittaa tekstienvälisyyttä yhtäältä siitä näkökulmasta, että tietty teksti sisältää eksplisiittisesti aineksia toisesta tekstistä, ja toisaalta siten, että samantyyppiset tekstit ovat lajiyhteydessä toisiinsa eli edustavat tiettyä kirjallista perinnettä.

Tässä artikkelissa tarkastelen intertekstuaalisuutta siitä näkökulmasta, millä tavoin haastatteluissa esitetty puhunnos representoidaan suorana esityksenä eli sitaatteina lehtijutuissa. Sitaatit erottuvat muusta tekstistä ja muista referoinnin muodoista ortografisten merkintöjen perusteella, joina julkaisun konventiosta riippuen toimivat joko lainausmerkit tai repliikkiviiva. Toisin sanoen en määrittele sitaattia tässä tutkimuksessa kieliopillis-syntaktis-diskursiivisten piirteiden perusteella (ks. Waugh 1995: 139–141). Tämä ratkaisu on linjassa toimitustyössä vallitsevan käytännön kanssa ja mahdollistaa sen, että tutkimuksen tulokset ovat relevantti puheenvuoro ohjeistuksen ja käytännön välisestä ristiriidasta journalistisessa siteerauksessa.

Käsitteellistän siteerausprosessin *rekontekstualisoinniksi*. Tämä käsite on tapana jäljittää sosiologi Bernsteiniin (1990), jonka mukaan alkuperäisestä kontekstistaan irrotettu ja uuteen kontekstiin asemoitu teksti muokkautuu muun muassa ”valinnan, yksinkertaistamisen, tiivistämisen ja yksityiskohtaistamisen” kautta (mts. 61). Bauman ja Briggs (1990: 73) kuvaavat antropologian näkökulmasta samantyyppistä ilmiötä: tietty osuus diskurssia muokataan ”erotettavissa olevaksi tekstiksi” ja rekontekstualisoidaan (ks. myös Blommaert 2005). Sitä, missä suhteessa rekontekstualisoitu tekstinosa on yhtäältä alkuperäiseen ja toisaalta uuteen kielenkäyttötilanteeseen, Bauman ja Briggs ehdottavat tarkasteltavaksi muun muassa kehystämisen, puhefunktion, indeksikaalisuuden ja kääntämisen näkökulmista (mts. 76–76).

Tässä artikkelissa seuraan Linellin määritelmää rekontekstualisoinnista (1998a: 154–158; 1998b: 143–157). Linellin mukaan kyseessä on ”dynaaminen muokkausprosessi”, jonka kuluessa tietty sisältö siirtyy yhdestä kielenkäytön ympäristöstä toiseen. Linelliläinen rekontekstualisoinnin käsite on lehtisiteerauksen tutkimiseen erityisen käyttökelpoinen, sillä se korostaa kontekstien erillisyyttä ja niiden merkitystä siteerausprosessissa ja mahdollistaa lehtisiteerauksen jäsentämisen nimenomaan kontekstien muuttumisesta käsin. Näin huomio voidaan tutkimuksessa kohdistaa niihin muutoksiin, joita rekontekstualisoidussa tekstissä ja sen tulkinnassa tapahtuu. Journalistisissa teksteissä erillisyys näkyy konkreettisestikin siinä, että haastattelusta siteerattu teksti eksplisiittisesti merkitään (lainausmerkein tai repliikkiviivalla) ja sen ilmoitetaan (esim. johtolauseella tai -ilmauksella) olevan peräisin muusta kielenkäyttöympäristöstä eli (usein) toimituksellisesta haastattelusta. Niin ikään Linellin määrittelemä rekontekstualisoinnin käsite on ollut aiemminkin käytössä puheen ja kirjoituksen suhdetta koskevissa tutkimuksissa (esim. Sarangi & Bookes-Howell 2006; Mikkola 2014; Nissi & Lehtinen 2015).

Linell jäsentää rekontekstualisointiprosessista kolme osaprosessia (1998a: 154–155): Ensiksi puhunnoksen, tekstin tai genren jokin osa tai ominaisuus irrotetaan alkuperäisestä kontekstistaan. Seuraavaksi se asemoidaan toiseen kontekstiin. Dynaaminen muokkausprosessi jatkuu kolmannessa vaiheessa, jossa ”sisällöt usein altistuvat tekstuaalisille muutoksille”, kuten tekstin yksinkertaistamiselle ja yksityiskohtaistamiselle sekä merkitysten uudenlaisille painotuksille. (Mts. 155.)

Lisäksi Linell erottelee (1998a, 1998b) kolme rekontekstualisoinnin ulottuvuutta. Ensinnäkin rekontekstualisointia voi tapahtua tietyn tekstin tai keskustelun sisällä (*intratextual recontextualisation*). Näin tapahtuu esimerkiksi toimituksellisessa haastattelussa, jos jompikumpi keskusteluun osallistujista, toimittaja tai haastateltava, poimii uudelleen keskustelun alaiseksi jotain keskustelussa aiemmin mainittua. Toiseksi rekontekstualisointi voi tapahtua keskustelujen tai tekstien välillä (*intertextual recontextualisation*). Nimenomaan tästä on kyse siteerauksessa: toimituksellinen haastattelu on kasvokkaiskeskustelu, josta toimittaja siirtää tekstiainesta tai asiasisältöjä kirjalliseen lehtijuttuunsa, jolloin kyseisten elementtien tulkinta voi muuttua kontekstin vaihtumisen takia. Kolmanneksi rekontekstualisointia voi tapahtua tiettyjen kielenkäyttötilanteiden sijaan abstraktimmin ja yleisemmin eri puhe- ja ajattelutapojen välillä (*interdiscursive recontextualisation*). Toimitusmaailmassa tähän törmätään muun muassa silloin, kun toimittaja ”kääntää” asiantuntijahaastateltavan ajatusmaailman lehden lukijakunnalle ymmärrettäväksi (ks. Kulkki-Nieminen 2010).

Rekontekstualisoinnin kohteiksi voidaan poimia monenlaisia seikkoja. Ensinnäkin kyseeseen voivat tulla yksittäiset sananvalinnat tai pidemmät tekstikatkelmat. Konkreettisen tekstiaineksen sijaan rekontekstualisoitavaksi voivat toisaalta valikoitua myös väitteet ja päättelyketjut sekä kertomukset ja vielä abstraktimmin arvot, ideologiat ja ajattelu- ja puhetavat. (Linell 1998a: 154–155.) Toisin sanoen rekontekstualisointi voi todentua hyvin monenlaisena referointina: Jatkumon yhdessä päässä ovat yleiset ja sumearajaiset, vaikeasti mihinkään yksilöitävissä olevaan lähtökontekstiin jäljitettävät vaikutteet. Jatkumon toisessa päässä ovat puolestaan lehtisitaattien tapaiset sanatarkat (tai sellaisina esitetyt, ks. Koski 1985: 76), tietyn kielenkäyttäjän tuottamiksi lähteytetyt suorat esitykset.

Huomionarvoista kuitenkin on, että edes silloin, kun referointi on merkitty muodollisesti suoraksi esitykseksi, kyse ei ole kielenaineksen mekaanisesta siirtämisestä tai toistamisesta. Ensinnäkin uusi kielenkäyttöympäristö asettaa vaatimuksia puheen tai tekstin kielelliselle asulle, minkä lisäksi sitaatti tuo mukanaan kontekstuaalisia piirteitä myös alkuperäisestä kielenkäyttötilanteesta. Esimerkiksi siihen tapahtumaan, jonka hallituspuolueen edustaja sanallistaa ”voitoksi”, voidaan oppositiopuolueen lehdessä viitata voittona vain, jos siteeratun diskurssin alkuperäisiä kontekstuaalisia piirteitä tuodaan relevanteissa määrin juttuun mukaan. Tämän vuoksi siteeratun kielenaineksen lisäksi myös lähtö- ja kohdekontekstit ovat oleellisia analyysikohteita rekontekstualisointia tutkittaessa.

3 Aineisto ja tutkimusmenetelmä

Jotta voidaan kuvata rekontekstualisointiprosessin aikana tapahtuvia muutoksia, tarvitaan aineistoa vähintään kahdesta ajallisesti eri hetkestä. Tässä artikkelissa pääasiallisesti käytetty aineisto koostuu toimituksellisten haastatteluiden nauhoituksista ja niiden pohjalta tehdyistä lehtijutuista, minkä lisäksi käytettävissä on joiltakin toimittajilta heidän haastattelutilanteessa käsin tekemänsä muistiinpanot. Tekstianalyysiä ja rekontekstualisointiprosessin kuvausta täydennän lisäksi retrospektiivisiä haastatteluita sisältävällä aineistolla.

Tutkimusaineistoni lähtökohtana on toimituksellinen haastattelu. Kyseessä on toimittajan kasvokkain tai puhelimitse yhden tai useamman henkilön kanssa käymä haastattelukeskustelu, jolla on selvästi määritelty ammatillinen päämäärä, tiedon kerääminen lehtijuttua varten. Keskustelijoilla on toimituksellisessa haastattelussa varsin vakiintuneet osallistujaroolit: toimittaja järjestää haastattelutilanteen sekä kysyy kysymyksiä ja tuo teemoja keskusteluun, haastateltava(t) vastaa(vat) ja kommentoi(vat). Lisäksi toimituksellisilla haastatteluilla on pääpiirteiltään vakiintunut kokonaisjäsentely (alkutervehdykset, varsinainen haastattelu, keskustelun päättäminen).

Tutkimustani varten pyysin 13 toimittajaa nauhoittamaan minulle yhdestä kahteen toimituksellista haastatteluaan. Lisäksi nauhoitin kolme tiedotustilaisuutta. En kertonut toimittajille etukäteen, mitä olen tutkimassa, enkä ollut itse läsnä haastatteluissa. Niiltä toimittajilta, jotka tekivät haastattelusta muistiinpanoja käsin, pyysin käyttööni kopion muistikirjasta.[5] Aineistoni 20 nauhoituksen pituudet vaihtelivat vajaasta kahdesta minuutista lähes kahteen tuntiin. Litteroin nauhoitukset keskustelunanalyysissä käytettyjä merkkejä soveltaen (ks. liite 1 s. 293), kuitenkin esimerkiksi taukojen pituuksien ja muiden prosodisten piirteiden osalta hieman karkeammin kuin keskustelunanalyysissa ja murteentutkimuksessa yleensä.

Aineistoni toisen kokonaisuuden muodostavat toimituksellisten haastatteluiden ja tiedotustilaisuuksien pohjalta julkaistut 21 lehtijuttua[6]. Niiden julkaisufoorumit olivat erityyppisiä sanoma-, aikakaus- ja asiakaslehtiä sekä näiden sähköisiä julkaisuja, ja ne ilmestyivät kaikki Suomessa ja suomeksi. Jutut julkaistiin vuosina 2012–2014.

Edellä kuvattujen pääasiallisten aineistojeni lisäksi hyödynnän retrospektiivisiä haastatteluja sisältävää aineistoa. Sen avulla tarkennan rekontekstualisaatioprosessin jäsennystä sekä selvitän syitä analyysini osoittamille, siteerattaessa tapahtuneille muokkauksille. Tämä aineisto rekonstruoi edellä kuvattujen toimittajien työnteon aikaisia ajatuskulkuja stimuloidun mieleenpalauttamisen[7] avulla (menetelmästä tarkemmin ks. Haapanen, tulossa 2016b). Kaikkiaan stimuloitu mieleenpalauttaminen tehtiin

5. Minulla on toimittajilta kirjallinen lupa haastatteluiden ja muistiinpanojen tutkimuskäyttöön. Tässä artikkelissa esittelen analyysiäni neljän aineistoesimerkin avulla, ja näissä aineistoesimerkeissä esiintyviltä haastateltavilta olen myös pyytänyt tutkimusluvan.

6. Ero haastattelunauhoitusten ja julkaistujen juttujen lukumäärän välillä johtuu siitä, että aineistossani on erään tiedotustilaisuuden pohjalta kaksi eri julkaisuun tehtyä lehtijuttua.

7. *Stimulated recall* -menetelmällä ei ole vakiintunutta suomenkielistä nimeä. Satunnaisia kertoja on käytetty nimiä *virikkeillä tuettu mieleenpalauttaminen*, *virikkeitä antava haastattelu* sekä virheellisesti *virikehaastattelu* (vrt. Ruusuvuori & Tiittula 2005: 55–56). Koska nämä eivät mielestäni kuvaa menetelmää hyvin, käytän nimeä *stimuloitu mieleenpalauttaminen*.

yhdelletoista toimittajalle. Tämän aineiston litteraatissa pyrin sanasanaiseen tarkkuuteen, mutta keskustelunanalyysissä käytettyä litterointitarkkuutta ei ollut tarkoituksenmukaista soveltaa (Tiililä 2007: 25). Tämä lisäaineisto luo ainutlaatuisen mahdollisuuden tutkia niitä kirjoitusstrategioita ja työkäytäntöjä, joihin pelkkien tekstidokumenttien avulla ei ole pääsyä (Perrin 2013: 62).

Analyysissäni kuvaan niitä muutoksia, joita haastatteludiskurssi eli haastattelun aikainen toimittajan ja haastateltavan puhunnos on sitaateiksi rekontekstualisoitaessa läpikäynyt (*version analysis,* Perrin 2013: 62). Analyysin perustana on tekstianalyysi, joka hyödyntää fennistisen vuorovaikutuslingvistiikan, tekstin- ja diskurssintutkimuksen sekä sanaston- ja kieliopintutkimuksen lähtökohtia ja tutkimustuloksia. Siteerausprosessia jäljittävässä tutkimusasetelmassani keskeistä on vertailu: tekstiasun ja tilanteisen tulkinnan tarkastelu eri tekstiversioissa – haastatteluissa, muistiinpanoissa ja lehtijutun sitaateissa – on välivaihe, mutta vasta näiden ominaisuuksien ”etenemisen” analysoiminen läpi tekstilajiketjun (Fairclough 1992: 130) vastaa tutkimuskysymykseeni siitä, mitä rekontekstualisointiprosessissa tapahtuu. Tämä on huomionarvoista, sillä journalismin tutkimus nimenomaan kielitieteellisestä näkökulmasta on rajoittunut usein valmiiden tekstien eli produktien analyysiin (NewsTalk&Text Research Group 2011: 1843–1844) ja jättänyt tuotantoprosessin huomiotta (vrt. esim. Helle 2010). Silloin, kun tutkijoilla näyttää olleen haluja myös prosessin kuvaukseen, yksinomaan produkteja sisältävän aineiston pohjalta tehdyt päätelmät ovat jääneet huteriksi (esim. Pietilä 1993; Satoh 2001; Short, Semino & Wynne 2002).

4 Haastattelupuheen rekontekstualisointi sitaateiksi

Tässä luvussa analysoin erilaisia tapoja, joilla toimituksellisen haastattelun kielenkäyttöä rekontekstualisoidaan suoraksi esitykseksi eli sitaateiksi lehtijuttuihin. Jäsennän tapoja Linellin hahmottelemien kolmen osaprosessin avulla. Rekontekstualisointia havainnollistan neljän haastattelu–lehtijuttu-parin avulla. Tarkastelemani jutut ovat eri lehdistä ja eri toimittajien tekemiä, ja ne on valittu esittelemään monipuolisesti erilaisia aineistossani esiintyviä siteerauskäytäntöjä.

Toimituksellisen haastattelun litteraateista olen lihavoinut kohdat, joihin sitaatti näyttäisi perustuvan. Lehtijutun rivit olen merkinnyt aakkosin, haastattelun rivit numeroin. Esimerkeissä esiintyvät nimet olen muuttanut ja anonymisoinut juttuja muiltakin osin. Käytän esimerkeistä nimiä Bisnestausta, Asumisjärjestelyt, Näyttelijä ja Kulutusvalinnat.

4.1 Haastattelupuheen jakautuminen tekstiin

Tarkastelen ensimmäisenä haastattelun ja lehtijutun intertekstuaalista suhdetta yleisesti. Bisnestausta-esimerkin avulla näytän, millä eri tavoilla lehtijuttu perustuu haastattelussa esitetylle puheelle ja miten rekontekstualisoinnin kolme osaprosessia siitä hahmottuvat.

Bisnestausta-esimerkki on erikoisaikakauslehdessä julkaistu juttu, jonka aiheena on eettistä ruokaa myyvä yritys ja tämän yrityksen omistaja-toimitusjohtaja. Juttu perustuu toimitukselliseen haastatteluun, jossa keskustelevat toimittaja ja haastateltava, joka on edellä mainittu omistaja-toimitusjohtaja. Haastattelun 48-minuuttisessa äänitallenteessa toimittaja esittää osin ennakolta hahmottelemiaan, osin haastattelutilanteessa syntyneitä kysymyksiä, joihin haastateltava vastaa. Tämän ohella toimittaja ajattelee selvien kysymysten sijaan monissa kohdin ikään kuin ääneen, minkä pohjalta haastateltava sitten lähtee assosioimaan omia näkemyksiään (ks. lukua 4.2, esim. 2 r. 1–5). Lisäksi haastateltava kertoo oma-aloitteisesti ja vapaamuotoisesti monista asioista, esimerkiksi yrityksensä taustoista. Yksityiskohtainen tarkastelu paljastaa haastattelun kauttaaltaan vuorovaikutteisen luonteen; haastattelu on toimittajan ja haastateltavan reaktiivista vuorottelua, jonka kuluessa toimittaja esimerkiksi myötäilee haastateltavaa pienin dialogipartikkelein, joiden tehtävänä on muun muassa antaa haastateltavalle lupa jatkaa vuoroaan (esim. Hakulinen 1997: 50–51). Haastattelun pohjalta tehty juttu on noin 2 200 merkin mittainen, ja se rakentuu pääjutusta ja ”faktaboksi”-tyyppisestä kainalojutusta. Juttu sisältää neljä haastateltavan sanomaksi merkittyä sitaattia.

Bisnestausta-esimerkissä – kuten aineistossani yleisestikin – toimituksellisen haastattelun ja sen pohjalta tehdyn lehtijutun suhde on läpeensä intertekstuaalinen. Kuva 1 (seur.sivulla) havainnollistaa tätä intertekstuaalisuutta: kuvan vasemmalla puolella on aikajana 48-minuuttisesta haastattelusta, oikealla puolella kaavio lehtijutusta (pois lukien kainalojuttu, joka sekin perustuu lähes kokonaisuudessaan haastateltavan antamiin tietoihin). Olen erottanut kaaviosta Bellin (1991: 61) jaottelua mukaillen kolme erilaista tekstielementtiä, joista kustakin annan alla esimerkin:

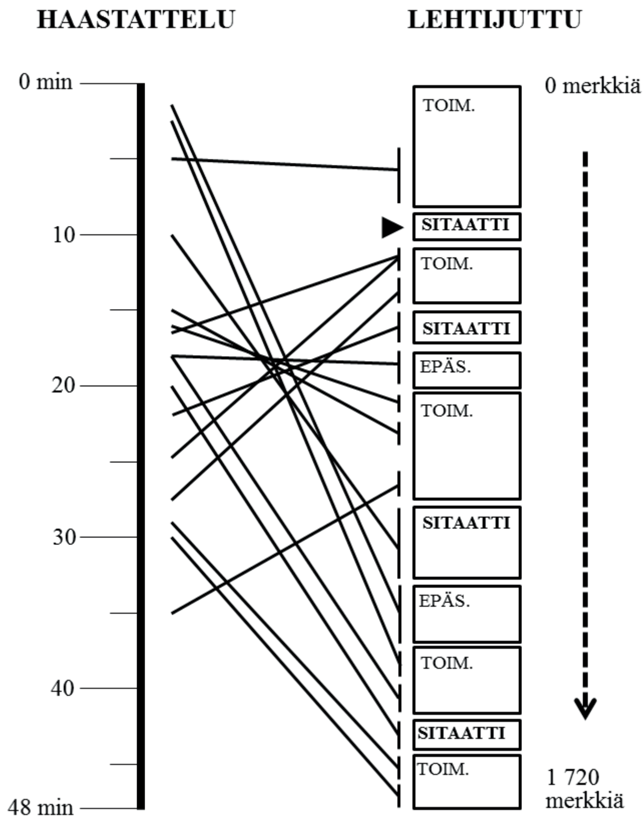
SITAATTI = haastateltavan sitaatti (*direct quotation*)
”*Meillä kaikilla perustajilla on bisnestausta. Totta kai me seistään näiden arvojen takana, mutta nähtiin että Suomessa on selkeä markkina tälle. Tärkeää on se, että suomalaiset saavat aitoa ruokaa kohtuuhintaan.*”

EPÄS. = epäsuora esitys (*indirect quote*)
Siihen tarvitaan rahoituskierros, jonka neuvottelut ovat Mattilan mukaan parhaillaan käynnissä.

TOIM. = toimittajan lähteyttämätön kerronta (*unattributed information*)[8]
Ensi vuonna on tarkoitus avata jo useita uusia myymälöitä. Muutaman vuoden kuluessa kauppoja on tarkoitus olla toiminnassa jo 20–30.

8. Pietilä (1993) pyrkii jakamaan tällaisen eksplisiittisesti lähteyttämättömän toimittajan kerronnan edelleen *toimittajan kerrontaan* ja *johtolauseettomaan epäsuoraan esitykseen* (jota osa Pietilän käyttämistä lähteistä kutsuu *vapaaksi epäsuoraksi esitykseksi*). Hänellä ei kuitenkaan ole aineistonaan niitä alkuperäis(haastattelu)tekstejä, joille hänen tutkimansa uutisjutut perustuvat. Tämän vuoksi esimerkiksi toimittajan kerronnaksi määrittyvä tekstijakso saattaa todellisuudessa olla johtolauseetonta epäsuoraa esitystä, johon ei ole osunut mukaan yhtään haastateltavan näkökulman paljastavaa kielellis-tyylillistä aineista. Tämä on tilanne esimerkiksi Bisnestausta-esimerkkijutun lähteyttämättömässä kerronnassa. Tämän artikkelin puitteissa keskustelu vapaan epäsuoran esityksen (mahdollisesta) olemuksesta journalismissa ei ole relevantti.

Olen yhdistänyt viivalla ne kohdat haastattelusta ja jutusta, jotka vastaavat toisiaan paitsi asiasisältönsä myös enemmän tai vähemmän tekstiaineksensa osalta. Jutussa on neljä sitaattia, joista kolmea vastaava puhunnos on löydettävissä haastattelusta. Jutun ensimmäinen, nuolenpäällä merkitty sitaatti perustuu sen sijaan toimittajan retrospektiivisen haastattelun mukaan keskusteluun, jonka hän kävi haastateltavan kanssa ennen varsinaista nauhoitettua haastattelua.



Kuva 1.
Haastattelun ja lehtijutun intertekstuaalinen suhde (Bisnestausta-esimerkki).

Kuvasta 1 huomaa, että lehtijuttu on rakennettu lähes kokonaan toimituksellisen haastattelun pohjalta (ks. myös Bell 1991: 61–63). Pääasiassa haastattelusta rekontekstualisoitua puhetta on käytetty lehtijutussa lähteyttämättömänä, ikään kuin jutun tekijäksi nimetyn toimittajan omana kerrontana. Tällaisissa tapauksissa lehtijutusta ei käy ilmi, että tekstiaines on peräisin haastattelusta. Toisaalta haastattelun tekstiainesta on käytetty jutussa haastateltavalle lähteytettynä epäsuorana esityksenä ja suorana esityksenä eli sitaatteina. Huomionarvoista on, että lehtijuttu sitaatteineen on kerronnallisesti itsenäinen tekstikokonaisuus. Tämä tarkoittaa muun muassa sitä, että lehtijuttu ei seuraile toimituksellisen haastattelun rakennetta ja että osa sitaateista on asetettu erilaiseen kotekstiin kuin missä niitä vastaava puhe on haastattelussa ollut (ks. myös Ekström 2001).

Haastattelupuheen rekontekstualisoinnista hahmottuvat Linellin jäsentämät kolme osaprosessia. Kuvasta 1 voi nähdä, että toimittaja on valinnut ja irrottanut tietyn mutta vain tietyn osan haastattelua siteerattavakseen. Tämän puhunnoksen hän on asemoinut ja sijoittanut lehtijuttuun. Lisäksi tätä lehtijutun sitaattina hyödynnettävää tekstiainesta on muokattu monella tapaa. Jatkossa käytän näistä osaprosesseista nimityksiä *dekontekstualisointi*, *kontekstualisointi* ja *tekstualisointi*. Havainnollistan ja jäsennän aineistostani hahmottuvia rekontekstualisoinnin tapoja näiden kolmen osaprosessin avulla.

Linelliltä periytyvän kolmiosaisen jäsentelyn relevanssia tämän tutkimuksen kontekstissa vahvistaa se, että olen toisaalla tehnyt laadullista sisällönanalyysiä tämänkin artikkelin yhtenä aineistona olevista retrospektiivisistä toimittajahaastatteluista (ks. Haapanen, tulossa 2016b). Tämän analyysin mukaan siteerattavan puhunnoksen valintaan, sen asemointiin muotoutuvassa lehtijutussa ja tekstiasun muokkaukseen vaikuttavat toisistaan eriteltävissä olevat ja toimittajien tiedostamat siteerauskäytännöt: Lehtijuttua tekevät toimittajat valitsevat (dekontekstualisointi) haastattelusta siteerattavakseen muun muassa haastateltavan mielipiteitä ja näkemyksiä sekä asioita, joiden paikkansapitävyyden tarkistaminen olisi toimittajalle vaikeaa tai mahdotonta. Nämä tekstiainekset asemoidaan (kontekstualisointi) palvelemaan jutulle ennalta suunniteltua (ja jutuntekoprosessin edetessä uudelleen arvioitua) juonta siten, että sitaatit ja jutun muu teksti vuorottelevat ”jouhevasti”. Lähes säännönmukaisesti sitaatit muokataan (tekstualisointi) hyvin yleiskielisiksi, minkä lisäksi haastateltavan sanoman ja toisaalta jutun kerronnan teroittamiseksi tekstiin saatetaan tehdä isojakin poistoja, muutoksia ja lisäyksiä. (Ma.)[9]

4.2 Tulkinnan säilyminen tekstiasun muuttuessa

Tässä alaluvussa tarkastelen haastattelupuheen rekontekstualisointia lehtijuttujen sitaateiksi erityisesti siitä näkökulmasta, miten puhunnoksen tilanteinen tulkinta säilyy ennallaan tekstiasun muokkauksesta huolimatta – tai sen vuoksi. Hyödynnän yhtä Bisnestausta-aineistojutun sitaateista ja etenen analyysini esittelyssä dekontekstualisoinnista kontekstualisointiin ja tekstualisointiin. Esittelen seuraavaksi sitaatin ja hieman sitä edeltävää tekstiä.

(1) Bisnestausta/sitaatti

a Mikko Mattilalla on ruokakauppiaaksi varsin poikkeuksellinen tausta.
b Hän on kansainvälisesti menestynyt lumilautailija ja ammattivalmentaja
c sekä mainosalan sarjayrittäjä.
d ”Meillä kaikilla perustajilla on bisnestausta. Totta kai me seistään
e näiden arvojen takana, mutta nähtiin että Suomessa on selkeä markkina tälle.
f Tärkeää on se, että suomalaiset saavat aitoa ruokaa kohtuuhintaan.”

9. Myös televisiouutisten toimitustyössä rekontekstualisoinnin kolme osaprosessia hahmottuvat selkeästi (ks. esim. Perrin 2013, 2015; Kroon Lundell & Ekström 2010: 485).

Esimerkin 1 sitaatti hahmottuu reaktioksi sitä edeltävään tekstiin (r. a–c), jossa aiheena on haastateltavan työhistoria. Sitaatin aloittavan virkkeen voinee tulkita joko selonteoksi perustajajäsenten sisältöosaamisesta tai vaatimattomuutta osoittavaksi huomautukseksi siitä, että muillakin kuin haastateltavalla itsellään on alalle käypä työhistoria.

Tarkastelen seuraavaksi, minkälaisesta puhunnoksesta esimerkin 1 sitaatti on rekontekstualisoitu. Esimerkeissä T merkitsee toimittajaa ja H haastateltavaa.

(2) Bisnestausta/haastattelu

1	T:	tää on tavallaan niinku öö (.) start-up myös siinä mielessä
2		että tässä hengaa samoja tyyppejä nytkin niinku tässäkin keskustelussa
3		mä oon törmännyt kahteen muuhun niinku (.) sellaseen start uppiin
4		jota mä seurailen et samaa (.) samaa jengiä
5	H:	joo (.) ja siis se että me ollaan- **meil on kaikilla niinku bisnestausta**
6	T:	[joo
7	H:	[pitkält linjalta elikkä niin tää ei oo tavallaan tää ei oo mikään semmo-
8		nen eettinen kannanotto vaikka niinku halutaankin tehdä tämmönen
9		(.) tämmönen (1.0) eikä mikään barrikaadeille nousu tai (.) tai tavoite
10		syrjäyttää keskusliikkeet tai mitään muutakaan hölmöö vaan niinku me
11		vaan halutaan tehdä tällanen tota (.) tällanen niinku oikeesti (.) oikeesti
12		nähdään että tää on tärkeetä että ihmiset saa oikeeta ruokaa
13	T:	mm
14	H:	**suomes on selkee markkina sille** ja ja niinku=**totta kai me seisotaan**
15		**niitten arvojen takana ja se on meille tosi tärkeetä mut mut se et**
16		**niinku ensisijaisesti se on se et ihmiset oikeesti saa (.) <aitoo ruokaa**
17		**(.) kohtuuhintaan>**
18	T:	mm

Esimerkin 2 katkelma on riviltä 5 lähtien yksi pitkä haastateltavan vuoro, jota toimittaja myötäilee dialogipartikkelein (r. 6, 13, 17) antaen näin haastateltavalle mahdollisuuden jatkaa vuoroaan (esim. Hakulinen 1997: 50–51). Kuten lihavoinneista huomaa, lehtijutun sitaattiin on dekontekstualisoitu haastatteludiskurssia riviltä 5 sekä riveiltä 14–17. Stimuloidussa mieleenpalauttamisessa jutun tehnyt toimittaja kertoi työprosessistaan seuraavasti: ”Siinä oli tärkeitä asioita ja halusin poimia [= dekontekstualisoida] niitä, mutta se sitaatti piti käytännössä kuitenkin rakentaa [= tekstualisoida] itse tästä koska se ei suoraa siitä tullut.”

Käyn seuraavaksi läpi sitaatin toista ja kolmatta virkettä, joihin valikoituneiden lauseiden järjestys on kontekstualisoitaessa muuttunut. Tarkastelen tätä muutosta haastattelusta ja sitaateista poimituilla, toisiaan vastaavilla esimerkkipareilla 3–5.

(3a) Totta kai me seistään näiden arvojen takana (sitaatti r. d–e)

(3b) totta kai me seisotaan niitten arvojen takana ja se on meille tosi tärkeetä (haastattelu r. 14–15)

(4a) nähtiin että Suomessa on selkeä markkina tälle. (sitaatti r. e)

(4b) suomes on selkee markkina sille (haastattelu r. 14) [Sekä demonstratiivin *tälle* että *sille* tarkoitteena on esimerkkiparin 5 sisältö eli ’että ihmiset saavat aitoa ruokaa kohtuuhintaan’.]

(5a) Tärkeää on se, että suomalaiset saavat aitoa ruokaa kohtuuhintaan. (sitaatti r. f)

(5b) se et niinku ensisijaisesti se on se et ihmiset oikeesti saa (.) <aitoo ruokaa (.) kohtuuhintaan> (haastattelu r. 15–17)

Sitaatissa tekstiainekset ovat edellä esitetyssä järjestyksessä siten, että esimerkkien 3a ja 4a välillä on kontrastoiva partikkeli *mutta* ja esimerkki 5a on omana virkkeenään (3a, *mutta* 4a. 5a.). Alkuperäisessä haastattelussa puhunnokset ovat eri järjestyksessä (4b *ja* 3b *mut[ta]* 5b). Esittämisjärjestyksen muutoksista huolimatta sekä haastattelussa että sitaateissa esitettyjen asiasisältöjen väliset suhteet ovat samat: ’arvot’ ja ’markkina tälle/sille että suomalaiset saavat aitoa ruokaa’ on asetettu niin lehtijutussa kuin haastattelussakin vastakohtaisiksi toisilleen.

Tarkastelen seuraavassa muutamia tekstualisointi-osaprosessissa tapahtuneita leksikaalisia muutoksia, jotka ovat selitettävissä nimenomaan kontekstin vaihtumisella. Nostan ensin esiin muutamia deiktisissä elementeissä tapahtuneita muutoksia, jotka olen esimerkeistä 6a ja 6b lihavoinut.

(6a) Totta kai me seistään **näiden** arvojen takana, mutta nähtiin että Suomessa on selkeä markkina **tälle**. (sitaatti r. d–e)

(6b) suomes on selkee markkina **sille** ja ja niinku=totta kai me seisotaan **niitten** arvojen takana (haastattelu r. 14–15)

Esimerkin 6 sitaatti- ja haastattelukatkelmissa demonstratiiveja *tämä* ja *se* käytetään sekä itsenäisesti (*sille*, *tälle*) että substantiivilausekkeiden tarkenteina (*niitten arvojen*, *näiden arvojen*). Pronomineja koskevassa vuorovaikutuslingvistisessä tutkimuksessa tällaisten demonstratiivien on havaittu ohjaavan esiin nostettujen tarkoitteiden tunnistamista (Laury 1997; Etelämäki 2006). *Tämä/nämä*-demonstratiivien avulla voidaan tehdä uuden mutta tavalla tai toisella tilanteessa läsnä olevan tarkoitteen ensimmäinen maininta. Sen jälkeen tarkoitteeseen voidaan viitata pronominilla *se/ne*, joka siis osoittaa, että tarkoite on tunnistettavissa esimerkiksi aiemmasta puheesta tai kirjoituksesta. Haastattelussa rivillä 15 on käytetty demonstratiivia *niitten* (perusmuodossaan *ne*) viittauksessa rivien 7–8 tarkoitteeseen *semmonen eettinen kannanotto*. Koska tätä tarkoitetta ei ole lehtijuttuun kirjoitettu, tarkoite jäisi lehtijutun lukijalle epäselväksi tai hahmottuisi lukijalle väärin. Tämän perusteella on ymmärrettävää, että toimittaja on vaihtanut tilalle *nämä*-demonstratiivin (r. e, taivutusmuodossaan *näiden*). Demonstratiivin vaihto siis tekee tarkoitteesta lukijalle riittävän tunnistettavan, jotta sitaatin ymmärrettävyys ei kärsi; eettistä ruokaa myyvästä kaupasta kertovassa jutussa *arvojen* voi olettaa viittaavan nimenomaan ”eettisiin arvoihin”, vaikkei tätä eksplisiittisesti olekaan mainittu.

Edellisen pronominivaihdoksen tapaan on selitettävissä myös haastattelun rivillä 14 olevan *sille*-demonstratiivin vaihtaminen demonstratiiviksi *tälle*. Haastattelussa *sille* viittaa edellä puheena olleeseen asiaan *on tärkeetä että ihmiset saa oikeeta ruokaa* (r. 12). Lehtijutussa tämä tarkoite mainitaan vasta sitaatin lopussa, rivillä f. Tämän vuoksi asiaan on luontevampaa viitata *se*-pronominin sijaan pronominilla *tämä*, jonka korrelaatti esitellään heti seuraavassa virkkeessä (– – *on selkeä markkina tälle. Tärkeää on se* – –). Muutoksen myötä tarkoite hahmottuu uudessa kontekstissa samana kuin haastattelussa.

Tarkastelen seuraavaksi vielä muutamia muunlaisia tekstualisoinnissa tapahtuneita kielellisiä muokkauksia. Esimerkki 7a on sitaatin ensimmäinen virke ja esimerkki 7b sen pohjana ollut puhunnos haastattelussa.

(7a) Meillä kaikilla perustajilla on bisnestausta. (sitaatti r. d)
(7b) (.) ja siis se että me ollaan- meil on kaikilla niinku bisnestausta (haastattelu r. 5)

Ensinnäkin sitaattiin on lisätty sana *perustajilla*. Syy tälle lisäykselle on selitettävissä kontekstin muuttumisella: Haastattelussa toimittaja on käyttänyt lekseemejä *samoja tyyppejä* (r. 2) ja *samaa jengiä* (r. 4), jotka tulevat tulkituiksi viittauksina yrityksen perustajiin. Tästä seuraa, että tämä tarkoite on haastateltavan vuoron alkaessa (r. 5) aktiivinen ja haastateltavan käyttämä pronomini *me* tulee tulkituksi oikein eli viittaukseksi perustajiin. Lehtijutussa sitaattia sen sijaan edeltää teksti, joka käsittelee yksinomaan haastateltavaa (r. a–c). Tämän vuoksi sitaatin alussa olevan *me*-pronominin tarkoite jäisi epäselväksi ilman määritteen *perustajilla* lisäystä.

Esimerkeissä 7a ja 7b on myös monia muita kielellisiä eroja, joita kielenkäyttökontekstin eli kasvokkaishaastattelun muuttuminen kauttaaltaan varsin yleiskieliseksi lehtijutuksi selittää: sitaatti alkaa keskeltä intonaatioyksikköä, haastateltavan itsekorjaus on poistettu, sanajärjestys on *olla*-verbin paikan osalta muuttunut, puheenomainen *meil* on ”täydentynyt” yleiskieliseen kirjoitusasuunsa *meillä* ja spontaanille puheelle tyypillinen dialogipartikkeli *niinku* on poistettu.

Kuten tässä alaluvussa on huomattu, toimituksellisessa haastattelussa syntynyt propositionaalinen merkitys tai asiaintilojen tulkinta on kielellisten muokkausten myötä representoitu pitkälti samanlaisena sitaatissa. Toisin sanoen haastattelu ja siitä tehty sitaatti ovat tulkittavissa toistensa parafraaseiksi, vaikka ne eivät vastaakaan täydellisesti toisiaan. Erityisesti sitaatin aloittava virke hahmottuu lehtijutussa varsin suorana reaktiona sitä edeltävään toimittajan lähteyttämättömään kerrontaan. Haastattelulitteraatin rivi 5 sitä vastoin ei – puheenvuoron aloittavaa *joo*-partikkelia lukuun ottamatta – hahmotu reaktioksi toimittajan puheenvuoroon riveillä 1–4.

Kaiken edellä kerrotun jälkeen on kuitenkin syytä muistuttaa, että samainen sitaatin lähdemateriaalina käytetty haastattelukatkelma olisi toki tarjonnut mahdollisuuksia myös monille muille rekontekstualisoinneille; toimittaja esimerkiksi sivuuttaa riveillä 8–11 esitetyn proposition, jossa haastateltava rinnastaa ”eettisen kannanoton” ”barrikaadeille nousuun”, ”keskusliikkeiden syrjäyttämiseen” ja ”muuhun hölmöilyyn”. Tämä havainto vahvistaa jo edellä esitettyä käsitystä, jonka mukaan siteeraus toimitustyössä on läpileikkaavasti valintaa sekä makro- (ks. kuva 1 s. 226) että mikrotasolla.

4.3 Vuorovaikutteisuuden häivyttäminen ja tulkintakehyksen muuttuminen

Tässä alaluvussa tarkastelen niitä muutoksia, joita haastattelukeskusteluun on vuorovaikutuksen näkökulmasta tullut sitä sitaateiksi rekontekstualisoitaessa. Lisäksi tarkastelen sitä, missä määrin sitaattiin rekontekstualisoitu puhunnos saa uuden kielenkäyttöympäristön myötä uudenlaisen tulkinnan.

Asumisjärjestelyt-esimerkki (esim. 8–9) on uutinen laajalevikkisestä sanomalehdestä. Uutisjuttu käsittelee erään kunnan sosiaalitoimea kohtaan esitettyä kritiikkiä, joka on liittynyt yksityisiltä palveluntarjoajilta hankitun hätämajoituksen aiheuttamiin kustannuksiin.

(8) Asumisjärjestelyt/sitaatti

a Jatkuvat asumisjärjestelyt eivät kuuluisi sosiaalityöntekijöille,
b Lehtinen huomauttaa.
c ”Se on muusta ihmisten tukemisesta pois. Virastoa on syyllistetty,
d mutta olemme toimineet lakiin perustuen ja ihmisiä heitteille jättämättä.”

Kun sitaattia vertaa haastattelussa käytyyn keskusteluun, huomaa, että sitaatti on yhdistelmä kahdesta eri kohdasta noin 35-minuuttista haastattelua. Toimittaja itse perusteli tällaista työtapaa stimuloidussa mieleenpalauttamisessa seuraavasti: ”Jos se [kahden puhunnoksen yhdistäminen] ei muuta sitä merkitystä niin mun mielestä on [mahdollista tehdä niin]. Ehkä tässäkin perustelisin sitä sillä niinku tiiviyden vaatimuksella, että me puhutaan tosta samasta asiasta niin se ei aseta kumpaakaan lausumaa erilaiseen valoon.”

Seuraavaksi esittelen kaksi sitaatin raaka-aineena toiminutta kohtaa haastattelusta, minkä jälkeen syvennyn rekontekstualisointiprosessin yksityiskohtiin. Tarkastelen myös sitä, millä tavoin sitaatti toteuttaa toimitustyön opaskirjallisuuden vaalimaa ja toimittajan itsekin mainitsemaa ajatusta haastattelun ja sitaatin *merkityksen* vastaavuudesta eli synonymiasta. Tiukan kielitieteellisestä näkökulmasta tarkasteltuna synonymiaa nimittäin pidetään mahdottomuutena (ks. esim. Lyons 1981: 148).

(9) Asumisjärjestelyt/haastattelu

1	T:	**tarkoittaako se sitä että kun te joudutte hoitamaan (.)**
2		**tämmöstä määrää niinkun (.) asumisongelmia**
3		**niin niin se on sitten resursseista pois jostain muualta**
4	H:	**on** (.) ja yhä enempi me olemme asuntotoimisto siis tässä mielessä
5		että joudumme järjestämään jo- jotakin asut- asuttamista [.hh
6	T:	[mm
7	H:	ja se ei ole se sosiaalityön ydin mutta ku se on yks elämisen perustarve

((Rivien 7 ja 8 välistä on poistettu noin 17 minuuttia haastattelua. Poistetun jakson aikana on käsitelty monia aiheita.))

8 H: eihän sosiaalivirastolle ole niinku (.) niinku määrärahoja
9 ole osotettu tällaseen (.) niinku niinku <tuottamiseen> tai (.)
10 niinku <pystyynpanemiseen> (1.0) hyväksytäänkö sellanen (.)
11 se on poliittinen päätöksenteko (.) tää ei-
12 tää ei oo niinkään sosi- tää on laajempi yhteiskuntapoliittinen
13 kysymys mitä täs niinku tehdään
14 (1.0)
15 T: mm
16 (2.0)
17 aivan
18 (3.0)
19 .hhhh joo hh
20 (2.0)
21 H: .hhhh tää on vaikea asia [eikä (-) -
22 T: [joo mutta tämä on tämä on hyvin tärkee asia (.)
23 ja ehkä tää on- tärkeetä että tää otetaan esille ja (1.0)
24 ehkä tästä nyt herää sitten jonkinlainen (.) julkinen keskustelu
25 (2.0)
26 H: .hh niin sen mä niinku tiedän että et-
27 **meitä on syyllistetty tässä** (1.5) **mutta**
28 T: mm
29 H: haluan nyt puolustautua että (.)
30 **olemme tehneet sen niinkun** (.)
31 **lakiin perustuen ja ihmisiä heitteille jättämättä**
32 T: mm

Kuten edellä mainitsin, kahdesta kohdasta dekontekstualisoitu tekstiaines (r. 1–4 ja 27–31) on kontekstualisoitu yhdeksi sitaatiksi lehtijuttuun. Sitaatin aloittava virke perustuu pääasiassa toimittajan esittämään kysymykseen (r. 1–3), jossa esitetyn ennakko-oletuksen (*asumisongelmiin käytettävät resurssit ovat viraston muista toimintakohteista pois*) haastateltava lyhyesti vahvistaa oikeaksi (r. 4: *on*). Haastateltavan responsiivinen rooli on siis muuttunut lehtijutussa initiatiiviseksi; tässä, kuten aineistossani kauttaaltaan, toimittajan ja haastateltavan yhdessä rakentama dialogi on ikään kuin monologisoitu lehtijuttuun lausumiksi, jotka näyttävät haastateltavan itsenäisesti, yhtenäisesti ja omaehtoisesti tuottamilta. Vaikka monologisointi näyttäytyy Asumisjärjestelyt-esimerkissä toimittajan kysymyksen poisjättämisenä, aineistoni laajempi tarkastelu on osoittanut, ettei haastattelu useinkaan perustu selkeille toimittajan kysymyksille ja haastateltavan vastauksille. Sen sijaan sellaisissa toimituksellisissa haastatteluissa, joiden tarkoituksena on kerätä materiaalia nimenomaan kirjallisesti välitettyyn journalistiseen juttuun (vrt. sellainen haastattelu, jonka pohjalta ollaan tekemässä esimerkiksi tv-uutisinserttiä), vuorottelu on usein varsin ”tasavertaista”. Tarkoitan tällä sitä, että toimittaja saattaa esimerkiksi esittää teeman, josta haastateltava alkaa vapaasti assosioiden puhua, mitä toimittaja taas esimerkiksi vain dialogipartikkelein ohjaa (ks. alalukua 4.5). Lehtijutusta ja sen sitaateista tämä haastattelun dynaaminen vuorovaikutteisuus on pitkälti häivytetty. (Ks. tarkemmin Haapanen, tulossa 2016d; myös Ekström 2001; Nylund 2006b; Harry 2014.)

Toisin kuin esimerkin 8 ensimmäinen virke, sen jälkimmäinen virke (r. c–d) perustuu melko sanatarkasti siihen, mitä haastattelussa on sanottu (r. 27–32). Toimittajan vuorot on rekontekstualisoitaessa niin ikään poistettu ja ilmaisua on täsmennetty (r. 27: *meitä* → r. c: *virastoa*) ja karsittu (r. 27: *tässä*; r. 30: *niinkun* → sitaatissa: Ø). Myös eripituiset tauot, joita haastateltava lausumiensa keskellä pitää (r. 27, 29, 30), on jätetty sitaattiin merkitsemättä, eikä niille lehtijutun konventiossa juuri merkitsemistapaa olisikaan. Tekstin muodon näkökulmasta voidaan kokoavasti todeta, että sitaatin ensimmäinen virke ei perustu ollenkaan haastateltavan haastattelussa tuottamaan puhunnokseen, kun taas jälkimmäinen perustuu siihen varsin tarkasti.

Sitaatin esittämien asiaintilojen näkökulmasta sen kahden virkkeen suhde alkuperäiseen puheeseen on päinvastainen. Vaikka sitaatin ensimmäinen virke ei perustu ollenkaan haastateltavan lausumille sanoille, yhtä kaikki se välittää sen (yhteis)ymmärryksen, josta toimittaja ja haastateltava haastattelussa neuvottelevat ja jonka he yhdessä tuottavat. Nimenomaan se, että haastateltava toteuttaa myönteisen vastauksensa verbin toistolla eikä *joo*-partikkelilla, on tutkimusten mukaan osoitus siitä, että hän käsittelee alkuperäistä kysymystä aitona tiedonhakuna eikä vain lausumana, joka hakee vahvistusta (ks. Sorjonen 2001; Hakulinen & Sorjonen 2009). Tarkkaan ottaen sitaatti perustuu tietenkin nimenomaan toimittajan käsitykseen yhdessä tuotetusta ymmärryksestä.

Tarkastelen seuraavaksi sitaatin jälkimmäisen virkkeen ensimmäistä lausetta, minkä vuoksi toistan tässä osan julkaistusta lehtijutusta.

(10) Asumisjärjestelyt/sitaatti (katkelma)

a Jatkuvat asumisjärjestelyt eivät kuuluisi sosiaalityöntekijöille,
b Lehtinen huomauttaa.
c ”Se on muusta ihmisten tukemisesta pois. Virastoa on syyllistetty, – –”

Sitaatin jälkimmäinen virke alkaa lauseella *Virastoa on syyllistetty* Ø [Ø = mistä?], joka jää syyllistämisen syyn suhteen avoimeksi. *Syyllistää*-verbin valenssinmukaisen adverbiaalitäydennyksen määrittely ei ole yksiselitteistä, mutta kyseessä lienee lähinnä tilanneviittaus edellä esitettyyn asiantilan kuvaukseen eli ’jatkuvat asumisjärjestelyt eivät kuuluisi sosiaalityöntekijöille ja vievät resursseja muusta ihmisten tukemisesta’ (ISK 2004 § 1439). Kun siteerattua tekstiainesta tarkastelee lähtökontekstissaan, huomaa, ettei tällainen luenta ole tarkalleen se, mihin haastateltava on haastattelussa *syyllistää*-verbiä seuraavalla *tässä*-pronominilla viitannut (r. 27: *meitä on syyllistetty tässä*). Sekä haastateltava että toimittaja ovat toistelleet *tä(m)ä*-pronominia taajaan ennen kyseistä kohtaa haastattelussa (r. 11–13, 21–24), ja selvärajaisen tarkoitteen sijaan näitä mainintoja ”edeltävä konteksti luo tulkintapohjan, jonka perusteella pronominin merkitys määräytyy” (mp.). Se voisi tässä tilanteessa olla ’hätämajoittaminen ja erityisesti sen ostaminen yksityiseltä palveluntarjoajalta’. Rekontekstualisoinnin myötä sitaatin jälkimmäinen virke (r. c–d: *Virastoa on syyllistetty, mutta olemme toimineet lakiin perustuen ja ihmisiä heitteille jättämättä.*), joka muodoltaan on lähtö- ja kohdekontekstissaan varsin samanlainen, ohjaa lukijaa uudessa kontekstissa hienoisesti haastattelutilanteesta poikkeavaan tulkintaan – tai jättää tulkinnan hieman epämääräiseksi.

Keskustelun toimintojen näkökulmasta edellä tarkasteltu siteeraus on sitä vastoin täsmällinen. Viipyilevät vuorot, tauot sekä keskustelun alulle panneeseen puheenaiheeseen paluu kielivät siitä, että toimittaja ja haastateltava ovat rakentamassa keskustelulleen lopetusta (Schegloff & Sacks 1973: 90–91), ja esimerkin 9 katkelma onkin 35-minuuttisen haastattelun viime minuuteilta. Sitaatilla on sama toiminnallinen funktio: se päättää lehtijutun.

4.4 Yleiskielistys ja muu kieliasun muokkaus

Läpi aineistoni haastattelupuheen rekisteriä yleiskielistetään rekontekstualisoinnin aikana runsaasti, joskin yksittäisiä puheenomaisia kielenpiirteitä lehtijuttu kielenkäytön kontekstina näyttää sallivan. Toisaalta sitaateissa voi olla tekstiainesta, jolle ei löydy selvää vastinetta haastattelusta.

Näyttelijä-esimerkki (esim. 11–12) on aikakauslehden laajasta henkilökuvajutusta, jossa haastateltavana on suomalaisnäyttelijä. Esimerkkikohdassa käsitellään syitä siihen, miksi näyttelijät haluavat tehdä uraa Hollywoodissa ja mitä haasteita näihin pyrkimyksiin sisältyy.

(11) Näyttelijä/sitaatti

a Hollywoodiin mennään, koska on pikkuriikkinen mahdollisuus
b tulla järjettömän äveriääksi.
c ”Ura siellä on arpapeliä. Kaikki odottavat siellä lottovoittoa
d kuponki kädessä. Mä en siihen peliin halua loppuelämääni tärvellä.
e Tyhmä olisin, jos laskisin uran yhden roolin varaan.
f Jos joku ei onnistu, niin vähän ärsyttää, ja seuraavaan hommaan.”

Seuraavaksi esittelen ne kohdat haastattelusta, joista sitaatti näyttää olevan tehty.

(12) Näyttelijä/haastattelu

((Puheena ollut se, että Hollywoodissa suuria elokuvaprojekteja kaatuu yhtenään.))

1 H: – – ja se onkin osasyy siihen minkä takii (.) ei niinkun (.)
2 **tyhmähän mä olisin jos mä laskisin jonkun** (.) **öö** (.)
3 **yhden elokuvan tai tv-sarjan tai ihan minkä tahansa varaan**
4 **niinku siellä**
5 T: mm mm
6 H: **oman** [**urani**
7 T: [nii nii
8 H: ja tollase (.) sen takia mun on turha ajatella sitä (.) että (.) kat- et (.)
9 **jos niinku joku juttu onnistuu nii hyvä**

10 T: mm
11 H: **ja sit jos joku ei onnistu ni** (.) **<varmaan> vähän ärsyttää** (.)
12 mut et (.) ei voi olla (.) elämääni en
13 T: mm
14 H: en sen varaan laske (.) enkä aiokaan (.) ja
15 T: mm
16 (1.0)
17 H: on mulla ihan muut suunnitelmat
18 T: mm
19 H: ja saa nähä et mitkä niist toteutuu ja mitkä ei
20 T: mm
21 H: mut toivottavasti ees osa
22 T: mm
23 H: niistä unelmis[ta
24 T: [joo
25 H: mitä mulla on

((Välistä on poistettu 1 minuutti 50 sekuntia keskustelua. Ennen riviä 26 puheena on ollut se, että menestys on taitojen lisäksi kiinni ajoituksesta ja onnesta.))

26 H: – – se ((= elokuvakenttä Hollywoodissa)) on vähän tsäkäammuntaa
27 T: mm
28 H: tai **semmost arpapeliä oikeestaan siellä että sitte .hh**
29 **kaikki siellä odottaa sitä lottovoitto[a**
30 T: **[nii**
31 H: **se kuponki kädessä** (.) **ja** (.) **emmä mä en**
32 **koko elämääni** (.) **semmoseen jonotuk[seen**
33 T: [nii heh he
34 H: **mä en vaan [halua**
35 T: [nii
36 H: **laskea**
37 T: nii nii nii
38 H: koska se ei oo must sit (.) loppupeleissä se niinkun (.) megatähteys
39 nii ei oo must kuitenkaan sit niin tavoittelemisenarvoinen asia
40 T: .hh nii nii (.) kylhä ((=kyllähän)) se losiin muuttaminen melkein (.)
41 mikä tahansa ammatti edes on minkä vuoks sinne menee niin (.) sinne
42 mennään siks et on se pienen pieni mahollisuus tulla suureks-
43 suunnat[toman
44 H: [nii
45 T: rikkaaksi
46 H: nii

Edellisessä alaluvussa käsitellyn Asumisjärjestelyt-esimerkin tapaan myös Näyttelijä-esimerkin sitaatissa yhdistyy puhetta kahdesta eri kohdasta haastattelua. Kontekstualisoitaessa näiden tekstiainesten aikajärjestystä on vaihdettu: ajallisesti myöhempi puhe aloittaa sitaatin, ja haastattelussa aiemmin sanottu päättää sen. Sitaattia edeltävä toimittajan lähteyttämätön teksti (r. a–b) on puolestaan konstruoitu puhunnoksesta, jonka toimittaja sanoo ikään kuin kommenttina tai yhteenvetona käydystä ja sittemmin siteeratusta keskustelusta (r. 40–45). Lehtijutussa vastaavan tekstinosan tehtävänä on sitä vastoin toimia toteamuksena ”pikkuriikkisestä mahdollisuudesta”, jolle leipätekstiä seuraavan sitaatin alkupuoli toimii kuvaavana täsmennyksenä ja loppupuoli kommenttina. Toimittajan lähteyttämättömään tekstiin ja sitaattiin rekontekstualisoitujen puhunnosten puhefunktio on siis muuttunut.

Käsittelen seuraavaksi niitä muutoksia, joita puheesta poimittuun tekstiainekseen on tekstualisoinnissa tehty. Tämä esimerkki näyttää, että tekstualisoinnin osaprosessi voi tapahtua monessa kohtaa jutuntekoa – tässä esimerkissä sekä haastattelun nauhoitetta litteroitaessa että kirjoitusvaiheessa.

Näyttelijä-esimerkin tehneen toimittajan työtapana on, että hän nauhoittaa haastattelun. Tämän jälkeen hän ”purkaa” eli litteroi haastattelun kokonaisuudessaan. Jo tässä vaiheessa puhunnoksen kieliasu pelkistyy, sillä toimittaja kertoi jättävänsä ”puhekielisyydet” litteroimatta. Puhekielisyyksillä hän tarkoitti asiaa stimuloidussa mieleenpalauttamisessa tarkemmin selvitettäessä erilaisten suunnitteluilmausten ja epäsujuvuustekijöiden karsimista. Tässä vaiheessa haastattelupuhe osin myös monologisoituu, koska toimittaja kertoi, että omista vuoroistaan hän litteroi ainoastaan selvät kysymykset.[10]

Näyttelijä-jutun tehneen toimittajan henkilökohtaiseen työtapaan haastattelunauhan litteroinnissa liittyy lisäksi piirre, joka vaikuttaa ”lauseiden rytmirakenteeseen”: haastateltavan ilmaisu jäsentyy sitaatissa suhteellisen lyhyiksi lause- ja virkerakenteiksi. Piirre näkyy tekstiaineistoista, ja toimittaja nosti sen esiin myös stimuloidussa mieleenpalauttamisessa:

> se mikä muuttuu on toi Annan puherytmi muuttuu väistämättä mun rytmiksi – – siinä vaiheessa kun mä litteroin niin mä muokkaan sitä jo sitä lauseiden rytmirakennetta ja se muuttuu mun rytmirakenteeksi väistämättä (.) Mun tapa litteroida on itse asiassa aika paljon se että painan rivinvaihtonäppäintä lauseen kaltaisen rimpsun jälkeen eli en putkeen [= litteroi tekstiä yhtäjaksoisena tekstimassana] vaan ikään kuin asia kerrallaan.

Litteroituaan haastattelun toimittaja tulostaa litteraatin. Tämän jälkeen hän avaa tietokoneelleen uuden tyhjän tiedoston ja aloittaa jutun kirjoittamisen. Hänellä on luurankohahmotelma jutun juonen päälinjoista, tämäkin usein pelkästään mielessään, ja tuon hahmotelman mukaisesti hän valitsee tulosteista juttuunsa sopivaa tekstiainesta. Kuten toimittaja stimuloidussa mieleenpalauttamisessa erikseen mainitsi, sitaatit ovat hänen työtavassaan varsin keskeisessä roolissa: Usein sellaiset tekstiainekset, jotka hän

10. Muutamalta informanttitoimittajalta, joiden työtapa oli samantyyppinen, pyysin nähtäväkseni näitä purettuja haastatteluita, jolloin pääsin itse toteamaan tässä kuvaillun työtavan seuraukset. Näyttelijä-esimerkin tehneeltä toimittajalta en tällaista tiedostoa saanut, sillä havahduin tämän aineiston keräämiseen vasta paljon varsinaisen aineistonkeruun päätyttyä.

arvioi sopiviksi sitaattiin, toimivat tukipilareina juonta hahmotellessa. ”Mulla on muutama oikein hyvä sitaattipalikka ja mun tehtävä on oikeastaan niinku laittaa ne sellaseen järjestykseen että siinä on jonkinlainen dramaturgia siinä stoorissa.”

Kirjoittamisvaiheessa haastattelupuhunnosten jo kertaalleen haastattelun ”purkamisen” myötä pelkistynyt tekstiasu edelleen muokkautuu. Tekstiin on tehty paljon sekä sanojen (ja liitepartikkeleiden) poistoja (r. 2: *tyhmähän mä olisin* → r. e: *Tyhmä olisin*) että vaihdoksia (r. 3: *yhden elokuvan tai tv-sarjan tai ihan minkä tahansa varaan* → r. e: *yhden roolin varaan*). Kokonaisuudessaan haastattelupuheen rekisteri on muokkausten myötä yleiskielistynyt, joskin toisin kuin aiemmat aineistoesimerkit, Näyttelijä-sitaatti sisältää myös puheenomaisia kielenpiirteitä.

Yksi hyvin leimallinen puhutun kielen piirre on sitaatin sisältämä *mä*-pronominivariantti (r. d), joka luo erityisesti luettuna vaikutelman puheen epämuodollisuudesta. Lisäksi se, että persoonapronominia ylipäänsä käytetään subjektina lauseessa, jonka verbissä on persoonapääte, on nimenomaan puhutulle kielelle tyypillistä ja luo myös osaltaan juttuun puheen illuusiota. Huomionarvoista kuitenkin on, että sitaatissa *mä*-esiintyy yhden kerran, kun se sitaatin pohjana olevissa kohdissa haastattelua esiintyy useasti (ks. esim. 12, lihavoidut kohdat). Niinpä esitän, että ennemmin kuin kyseessä olisi tietyn pronominitekstiaineksen suora esitys – ja monien muiden vastaavien pronominitekstiainesten poistaminen – *mä* on kirjailtu muilta osin yleiskielistettyyn sitaattiin luomaan illuusiota haastateltavan epämuodollisesta puhetavasta (ks. Tiittula & Nuolijärvi 2013: 11) ja sitä kautta palvelemaan jutun kerronnallisia pyrkimyksiä (Haapanen, tulossa 2016b). Toisin sanoen toimittaja on halunnut välittää tietoa haastateltavan käyttämästä puheen rekisteristä, ja tämä pyrkimys on toteutettu tekstualisoimalla juttuun yhden kerran haastateltavan *minä*-pronominista käyttämä muotovariantti.

Toinen sekä kielen rekisterin ja yleiskielistämisen että sitaatin uudelleensanoittamisen näkökulmasta mielenkiintoinen yksityiskohta on virke *Mä en siihen peliin halua loppuelämääni tärvellä* (esim. 11 r. d). Analyysini perusteella näyttää siltä, että toimittaja on rekontekstualisoinut virkkeeseen haastateltavan kertoman mielipiteen (esim. 12 r. 31–36). Sanatarkasti representoiden toimittaja ei kuitenkaan ole sitaattia kirjoittanut, vaan hän on sanoittanut haastateltavan lausumaa uudelleen, luultavasti selkeyttääkseen haastateltavan anakoluuttia vuoroa (Haapanen, tulossa 2016b): Tulkintani mukaan haastateltava sekoittaa lausumassaan idiomeja ’laskea jonkin varaan’ ja ’haluta johonkin jotakin (= aikaansa tai rahaansa tms.) tärvätä’. Muiden muutosten ohessa toimittaja käyttää sitaatissa ilmausta *tärvellä* (po. *tärvätä*), jota haastateltava (tai toimittaja) ei ole haastattelussa käyttänyt. Ilmaus tuo sitaattiin sellaisia konnotaatioita kuin ’tehdä (käyttö)kelvottomaksi, turmella, pilata’ (ks. *Kielitoimiston sanakirja* s. v. *tärvellä*), joita haastateltavan vuorossa ei alkujaan ole mutta jotka luonnehtivat väkevästi puhujaansa (ks. Haapanen 2011: 78–79). Sananvalinta *tärvellä* on siis toimittajan tulkinta haastateltavan puheesta – tai kenties kyse on ennemminkin siitä, millaisen kuvan toimittaja on halunnut haastateltavan puheenparresta lehtijutussa antaa, ja edelleen, millainen ilmaisu luo juttuun sille haettua luonnetta (Knuuttila & Lehtinen 2010). Niinpä esitän, että rekontekstualisoitua tekstiainesta on muokattu siten, että se on kohdekontekstissaan (tai paremminkin kohdekotekstissään eli lehtijutun kerronnassa) tarkoituksenmukaisella tavalla tulkittavissa (Haapanen, tulossa 2016b). Se, mikä tällainen tarkoituksenmukainen tapa kulloinkin on, riippuu toimittajan ja edelleen julkaisun ja julkaisijan jutulle asettamista tavoitteista (ks. Haapanen, tulossa 2016a, 2016b, 2016c).

Myös sitaatin loppua näyttäisi olevan muokattu paitsi tekstin ytimeköittämiseksi myös jutun kerronnan palvelemiseksi (Haapanen, tulossa 2016b). Haastateltavan haastattelussa esittämä pohdinta tulevaisuuden suunnitelmiensa toteutumisesta (esim. 12 r. 9–25) on korvattu sitaatissa lausekkeella *ja seuraavaan hommaan* (esim. 11 r. f). Se luo lehtijutun kerrontaan dynaamisen otteen, ja sitä seuraakin pitkä, toimittajan lähteyttämättömänä kerrontana esitetty kappale, jossa luettelonomaisesti käydään läpi haastateltavan tulevaisuuden suunnitelmia ja unelmia. Tämä luettelo perustuu pitkälti haastatteluun, sillä haastattelukatkelman (esim. 12) jälkeen toimittaja kysyy haastateltavalta tämän tulevaisuudenunelmista, mihin haastateltava vastaa niistä kertomalla.

4.5 Sitaatin kokoaminen kertomuksen rakenneosista

Kuten edellisessä alaluvussa kävi ilmi, konkreettisen kielenaineksen sijaan sitaatti voi sisältää haastattelussa esitettyjen asiasisältöjen uudelleensanoittamista ja ”vain” heijastella alkuperäispuheen luomia vaikutelmia, ainakin siltä osin kuin ne sopivat syntymässä olevan lehtijutun kerronnallisiin pyrkimyksiin. Tässä alaluvussa haastattelupuhunnos ja sitaatti etääntyvät kieliasultaan vieläkin kauemmas toisistaan. Kulutusvalinnat-esimerkki on eräästä mielipide- ja kulttuurilehdessä julkaistusta jutusta. Haastateltavana on kulttuuritoimija, joka kertoo ajankohtaisesta teoksestaan. Koska haastattelupuhunnoksilla ja sitaatilla ei juurikaan ole kieliasullista vastaavuutta, tarkastelen Kulutusvalinnat-esimerkkiä aiempia esimerkkejä absraktimmalla rakenteen tasolla. Niinpä en ole jakanut sitaattia riveittäin vaan merkinnyt sitaatin kunkin virkkeen hakasulkeissa olevalla pienaakkosella.

(13) Kulutusvalinnat/sitaatti

> Vuoden aikana Taalasmaa huomasi, että ihmiset keskustelevat paljon tavaroistaan: uusista hankinnoistaan [a]. ”Se kääntyi muutaman kerran siihen, että ihmiset alkoivat puolustella minulle ostoksiaan [b]. Tai he kertoivat minulle, kuinka eivät olleetkaan menneet ostoksille [c]. Keskustelujen kautta hahmotin, että ilmaisemme itseämme kulutusvalintojemme kautta [d]. Ja jos se ei tuota onnellisuutta, tavaroita on helppo syyttää huonosta olosta. [e]”

Lehtijutun pohjana oleva haastattelu on hyvin strukturoimaton. Haastattelun aluksi toimittaja kertoo, mitä ajatuksia haastateltavan teos hänessä itsessään herätti. Tämän jälkeen 68-minuuttinen keskustelu soljuu varsin pidäkkeettömästi. Toimittaja antaa haastateltavan puhua pitkästi ja rönsyilevästi, ja keskustelua ylläpitävien minimipalautteiden (joista olen merkinnyt litteraattiin vain painokkaimmat) lisäksi hän lähinnä siellä täällä kommentoi haastateltavan ajatuksia ja esittää muutamia kysymyksiä ja keskustelun aihepiiriä ohjailevia vuoroja.

Esimerkin 13 sitaatti on rekontekstualisoitu noin kaksi minuuttia kestävästä jaksosta karsien ja muokaten: Sitaatista ei löydy kahta peräkkäistä sanaa, jotka olisivat peräkkäin myös haastattelussa. Sitaatissa ja sitä edeltävässä virkkeessä on yhteensä 51 sanaa, kun taas tekstijaksojen pohjana olevan haastattelukatkelman litteraatissa sanoja on yli 300. Näiden lukujen valossa on vaikea nähdä Kulutusvalinnat-esimerkin rekontekstualisointiprosessin logiikkaa. Analysoitaessa esimerkkiä labovilaisen kertomusrakenteen analyysin tarjoamin työkaluin käy kuitenkin ilmi, että toimittaja on valinnut haastattelusta tietyt kertomuksen rakenneosat ja koostanut niistä lehtijuttuun hieman uudenlaisen kertomuksen. Esitän seuraavassa haastattelulitteraatin (taulukko 1), jonka olen jaotellut Labovin (1972) esittämiin kertomuksen rakenneosiin (abstrakti, orientointi, komplikaatio ja resoluutio, evaluointi, kooda). Haastattelukatkelman lopun olen tulkinnut haastateltavan induktiiviseksi päättelyksi, jossa haastateltava tekee kertomuksensa pohjalta yleistävän päätelmän. Taulukon oikeanpuoleisin palsta osoittaa, mikäli kyseinen kertomuksen rakenneosa on rekontekstualisoitu lehtijuttuun.

Taulukko 1.
Kulutusvalinnat/haastattelu ja kertomuksen rakenneosat.

Haastattelun litteraatti	Kertomuksen rakenneosat (Labov 1972: 363)	Vastaa virkettä
…harva tulee ja hyökkää mua vastaan siinä vaan **kaikki** (.) **kaikki rupee niinku** (1.5) **jotenkin <puolusteleen> heti** (.)	**Kooda** (huom. edellisen kertomuksen) Kertomuksen päätös	**Virke b**
ja sitte (.) ja toinen juttu mitä **mä huomasin** automaattisesti (.) on se et ihmisethän puhuu (.) ihmiset ei puhu säästä (.) vaan ihmiset puhuu siit- (.) ventovieraat puhuu säästä (.) tutut **ihmiset puhuu siitä mitä ne on ostanut** *[Toimittaja:] joo*	**Abstrakti** Kertomuksen idea tiivistettynä.	**Virke a**
se on ihan käsittämätöntä (.) en mä tiennyt sitä ennen (.) vaik mä puhun ihan samasta asiasta (.) kaikki puhuu siit mitä ne on viimeeks ostanut ja mitä ne on käyttäny ja kuka- mikäkö on ostanut mitä ja- .hhh ja sit niinku (.) mä huomasin sen vast sit ku mul oli niinku ostolakko ja ku muut tajus et mul on ostolakko (.)	**Evaluointi** Kertomuksen arviointi ja arvottaminen	–
ni ku mä tuun kahvipöytään tai frendien kans tai ihan mihin tahansa työs (.) istun ales (.)	**Orientointi** Sijoittaa tapahtumat aikaan ja paikkaan, nimeää keskeiset toimijat	–

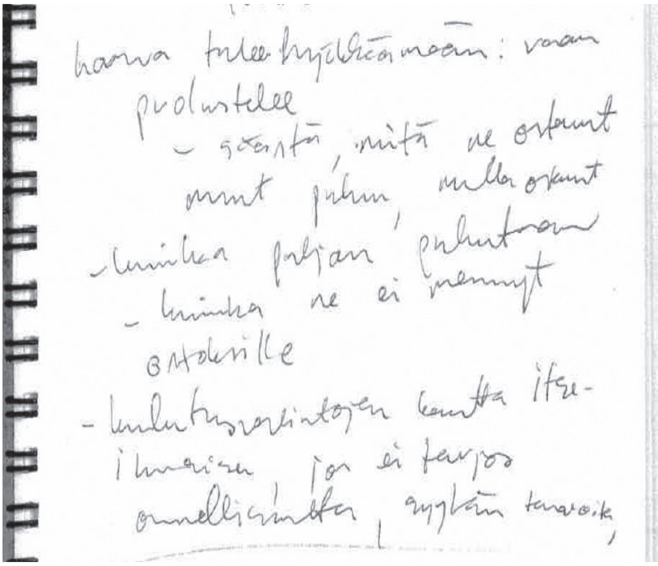
ihmiset on kaikkee @joo mä oon ostanut semmosen tai se on ostanut sitä tai oottekste te nähnyt sitä tai mä oon kokeillu sitä@ (.) ja sit jengi tajuu ((napsauttaa sormia)) ai nii (.) tolla on se ostolakko (.) sit kaikki on silleen @nii kato kun mä oon@	**Komplikaatio** Peräkkäin etenevä, mutkistava toiminta	–
et se et kuinka paljon puhutaan tavaroiden ostamisesta ja kuluttamisesta ja kaikest nii ni (.) ni onhan se niinku (.)	**Kooda**	–
se oli tosi häkellyttävää (.) niinku *[Toimittaja:] ihan varmasti* (3.0)	**Evaluointi**	–
ja sit ja sit ja sit (.) seuraava tilanne on sit sit (.) viikko menee eteenpäin nisit nisit nisit mun ystävät **kertoo mulle että** (.) **kuinka ne ei menny ostoksille** (.) tai kuinka ne meni ostoksille mutta ne osti vaan tän tai sit ne mietti tosi pitkää ja sitten ne osti- et et tavallaan se (.) et se on (.) *[Toimittaja:] joo mä oon huomannu-*	**Resoluutio** Mutkistava toiminta ratkeaa	**Virke c**
kyllähän se kertoo niinku (.) meidän ajasta et et niinku (1.0)	**Evaluointi**	
ja mä oon ite paljon miettinyt sitä et et miten mä oon tavallaan päätynyt tollai (.) niin kyllähän se on sitä et **suurin osa mun itseilmaisusta** on tullu (.) niinku (.) ostamisen ja (.) *[Toimittaja:] mm mm (.) se on se meille tarjottu tapa* **kulutusvalintojen kautta** ja tavallaan ehkä siitä se ahdistus on tavallaan mulle ehkä tullukki (.) et tavallaan sitten (.) sit **jos jos se ei oo tarjonnutkaan sit semmost** (.) **kestävää onnellisuutta** (1.0) ja mä oon ahdistuneena siellä mun tavaroideni keskellä (.) **niin** (.) **ketä mä syytän** (.) **no niitä tavaroita tietenkin** *[Toimittaja:] nii nii*	**Induktiivinen päättely kerrotun tarinan pohjalta**	**Virkkeet d–e**

Sitaattia edeltävä epäsuora esitys sisältää haastateltavan kertomuksen abstraktin, joka aloittaa kertomuksen sekä ajatuksellisesti että leksikaalisin keinoin (*ja sitten (.) ja toinen juttu mitä mä huomasin…*). Abstrakti esittelee kertomuksen aiheen eli sen, että ihmiset puhuvat paljon hankinnoistaan. Tämän jälkeen haastattelun ja lehtijutun kertomusrakenteet erkanevat toisistaan.

Haastattelussa abstraktia seuraa evaluaatio, jonka jälkeen haastateltava esittelee tarinan puitteet (frendit kahvipöydässä) ja tapahtumaketjun, jonka huippukohdassa (jengi muistaa ostolakon) haastateltava napsauttaa sormia ja pitää tauon. Tämän jälkeen hän jatkaa tapahtumien kuvailua kertomalla, mitä ”jengi” tässä tilanteessa sanoo. Hän osoittaa puheensa suoraksi esitykseksi paitsi dialogipartikkelilla (*nii*), imperatiivimuodolla (*kato* pro *katso*) ja referoitavan henkilön näkökulman mukaisella persoonapronominilla ja verbitaivutuksella (*mä oon*) myös huomattavan voimakkaalla äänensävyn muutoksella. Haastateltava kuitenkin keskeyttää tapahtumien kuvailun melko lyhyeen ja ikään kuin päättää kertomuksensa yhteenvetoon (kuluttamisesta puhutaan paljon) ja sen arviointiin (se on häkellyttävää). Ottaen huomioon, että haastattelu etenee kauttaaltaan hyvin spontaanin oloisesti, lienee todennäköistä, ettei haastateltava ole valmistellut kertomustaan ennakolta. Tästä kielii myös se, että haastateltava jatkaa kertomustaan (*ja sit ja sit ja sit (.) seuraava tilanne*) kuvailemalla tuttaviensa reaktioita heidän muistettuaan, että hän on ostolakossa. Tämä jakso toimii kertomuksen rakenteessa resoluutiona eli loppuratkaisuna edellä kerrotulle tapahtumaketjulle. Ajatuksellisesti tämä resoluutio näyttäisi liittyvän vahvasti myös edellisen kertomuksen aiheeseen eli siihen, että ihmiset tapaavat puolustella ostoskäyttäytymistään. Haastattelussa resoluutiota seuraa lyhyt evaluointi (*kyllähän se kertoo niinku (.) meidän ajasta*), jonka jälkeen haastateltava alkaa pohtia kertomuksensa laajempaa merkitystä. Tässä pohdinnassa kertomus toimii hänelle ikään kuin tapausesimerkkinä, josta hän induktiivisen päättelyn kautta luo yleistyksen: kulutusvalinnat ovat itseilmaisua, ja jos ostetut tavarat eivät tuo onnea, tavaroita on helppo syyttää.

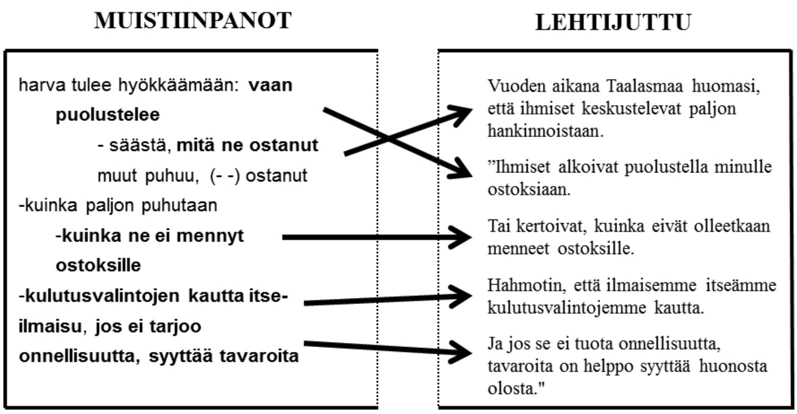
Lehtijutussa toimittaja on puolestaan sulauttanut haastateltavan kaksi kertomusta yhteen. Sitaattia edeltävässä tekstissä esitettyä, epäsuorana esityksenä toteutettua abstraktia (virke a) seuraa sitaatti, jonka aloitusvirke (virke b) vastaa haastattelussa esitetyn edellisen kertomuksen lopetusta, koodaa. Tämän kertomuksen ydin on ollut haastateltavan havainto, jonka mukaan ihmiset hänen ostolakostaan kuullessaan eivät aliarvioi kokeilua tai hyökkää häntä vastaan mutta alkavat puolustella omia ostoksiaan. Sitaatin toinen virke (virke c) vastaa sisällöllisesti haastattelussa esitettyä resoluutiota siitä, miten haastateltavan tuttavat reagoivat muistaessaan ostolakon. Arvioitaessa lehtijuttua itsenäisenä kertomuksena nämä sitaatin kaksi ensimmäistä virkettä (virkkeet b ja c) ovat tapahtumien kuvailua kertomuksen aiheen esittelevälle abstraktille, joka on kirjoitettu juttuun sitaattia edeltävään virkkeeseen (virke a). Kuten haastattelussakin, myös lehtijutussa kertomusta seuraa induktiivinen päättely, joka on asemoitu sitaatin loppuosaan eli virkkeisiin d ja e.

Sitä, miten rekontekstualisointiprosessi on tarkemmin edennyt, valaisee kolmas tekstiaineisto eli toimittajan haastattelutilanteessa tekemät muistiinpanot. Kulutusvalinnat-jutun tehneen toimittajan työtapana on, että hän tekee haastattelutilanteessa muistiinpanoja käsin ja kirjoittaa jutun näiden muistiinpanojen perusteella. Tämän haastattelun nauhoitus tehtiin siis yksinomaan tutkimuskäyttöä varten. Kuvassa 2 (seur. sivulla) on valokuva siitä kohdasta muistikirjaa, johon toimittaja dokumentoi edellä käsitellyn katkelman haastattelua.



Kuva 2.
Kuva toimittajan muistikirjasta (Kulutusvalinnat-aineistoesimerkki).

Kuvan 2 muistikirjan katkelman olen puhtaaksikirjoittanut kuvan 3 vasemmanpuoleiseen palstaan. Olen säilyttänyt puhtaaksikirjoituksessa alkuperäisen rivijaon ja sisennykset. Kuvan 3 oikeanpuoleisessa palstassa on sitaatti ja sitä edeltänyt leipätekstikappale (eli esim. 12). Olen yhdistänyt nuolin muistikirja- ja lehtijuttutekstin toisiaan vastaavat kohdat.



Kuva 3.
Muistiinpanojen ja lehtisitaatin vertailu (Kulutusvalinnat-aineistoesimerkki).

Muistiinpanoista voi huomata, että toimittaja on dekontekstualisoinut haastateltavan kertomuksesta tietyt kohdat ja dokumentoinut ne muutamin tukisanoin muistikirjaansa. Lehtijutun kirjoittaminen on tapahtunut toisena ajankohtana, ja tällöin toimittaja on kontekstualisoinut sitaatin ja sitä edeltävän leipätekstin yksinomaan näiden muutamien tukisanojen pohjalta (ja omaa muistiaan hyväksi käyttäen). Esitän seuraavassa muutaman seikan, jotka vahvistavat rekontekstualisoinnin kolmen osaprosessin erillisyyttä.

Ensinnäkin, kuten edellä olen analysoinut, on taulukon 1 katkelmasta erotettavissa kaksi erillistä kertomusta ja edelleen niiden rakenneosat (joista ensimmäisestä näkyy litteroidussa katkelmassa vain kooda eli kertomuksen päätös). Haastattelutilanteessa toimittajalla ei kuitenkaan ole ollut mahdollisuutta tarkastella haastattelua kokonaisuutena, vaan hänen on täytynyt tulkita ja tehdä muistiinpanoja keskustelun edetessä, reaaliajassa. Se, että kaksi kertomusta ovat nivoutuneet toimittajan tulkinnassa yhteen, on pääteltävissä muistiinpanojen ulkoasusta: Ensimmäisen kertomuksen lopetusta vastaava muistiinpano (*harva tulee hyökkäämään: vaan puolustelee*) alkaa muistikirjan sivun vasemmasta reunasta, kun taas kaikki muut muistiinpanot tarkastelussa olevasta haastattelukatkelmasta on merkitty sisennyksin ja luetelmaviivoin tälle aloituslausumalle alisteiseksi. Kun toimittaja myöhemmin on kirjoittanut juttua, hän näyttäisi seuranneen tätä reaaliajassa tekemäänsä dekontekstualisointia alkuperäisen kertomuksen rakenteesta.

Osaltaan dekontekstualisointiprosessin itsenäisyyttä vahvistaa haastateltavan kertomusta seuraavan induktiivisen päättelyn lähempi tarkastelu. Haastattelutilanteessa (taulukko 1) haastateltava reflektoi omaa käytöstään seuraavasti: *Suurin osa mun itseilmaisusta… siitä se ahdistus on mulle ehkä tullukki… mä oon ahdistuneena… mun tavaroideni keskellä… ketä mä syytän… tavaroita tietenkin.* Muistikirjaan tämä kaikki on dekontekstualisoitu niin, että persoona on häivytetty: *kulutusvalintojen kautta itseilmaisu, jos ei tarjoo onnellisuutta, syyttää tavaroita.* Lehtijutun sitaatissa kyseinen päättelyketju on esitetty yleispätevänä, muihinkin kuin haastateltavaan itseensä sovellettavissa olevana havaintona. Totta on, että myös alkuperäinen puhunnos on saattanut tulla haastattelukontekstissaan tulkituksi yleistettynä eli ”avoimena minänä” (Helasvuo 2008). Siitä huolimatta on todennäköistä, että kun toimittaja pari päivää haastattelun jälkeen muotoili sitaattia tiiviiden muistiinpanojensa pohjalta, hän ei enää muistanut, millä tavoin haastateltava sanatarkasti oli puhunut, vaan muotoili sitaatin yksinomaan muistiinpanojensa perusteella.

Muutamista kohdin sitaatin tekstiasun muotoilun eli tekstualisoinnin voi päätellä olevan ennen muuta jutun kerronnallisten tavoitteiden motivoimaa (ks. Haapanen, tulossa 2016b). Nimittäin siitä huolimatta, että sitaatti on rekisteriltään varsin yleiskielinen, virkkeet c ja e alkavat partikkeleilla *tai* ja *ja*. Tämä luo sitaattiin illuusiota puhutusta kielestä, jossa lausumia yhdistetään konnektoreilla toisiinsa eri lailla ja löyhemmin kuin lauseita ja virkkeitä kirjoitetussa tekstissä (esim. Laury toim. 2008). Koska näille virkkeenalkuisille partikkeleille ei löydy mallia sen paremmin muistiinpanoista kuin itse haastattelustakaan, on syytä olettaa, että ne perustuvat yksin tekstualisointivaiheen kielenmuokkaukseen ja jutun kerronnallisten pyrkimysten täyttämiseen. Tätä asiaa jutun kirjoittanut toimittaja ei stimuloidussa mieleenpalauttamisessa osannut kommentoida, mikä kielii työtapojen rutiininomaisuudesta.

Edellä olen käsitellyt Kulutusvalinnat-esimerkkiä kolmen tekstidokumentin – haastattelun litteraatin, muistiinpanojen ja lehtijutun – avulla. Lisään lopuksi mukaan analyysiin vielä neljännen tekstidokumentin, joka edelleen tarkentaa rekontekstualisoinnin osaprosessien välistä työnjakoa. Esimerkin 13 sitaatti ja sitä edeltävä lause ovat osa ensimmäisenä kirjoitettua juttua, joka ilmestyi kyseisen julkaisun verkkoversiossa ja jonka ennalta määritelty pituustavoite oli toimittajan mukaan noin 3 200 merkkiä. Tämän jutun pohjalta toimittaja muokkasi myös lyhyemmän version, joka ilmestyi julkaisun painetussa versiossa (kahden juttuversion kirjoitusjärjestys selvisi toimittajaa haastatellessani). Koska ”paperiversion” merkkimäärätavoite oli kolmanneksen verkkoversion merkkimäärää pienempi, tekstiä piti toimittajan mukaan kauttaaltaan lyhentää, myös sitaattien osalta. Esimerkkiin 14 olen merkinnyt yliviivauksin ne kohdat, jotka sitaatista ja sitä edeltävästä leipätekstistä oli poistettu verkkoversiota paperiversioksi lyhennettäessä.

(14) Kulutusvalinnat/lehtijuttu (verkkoversio)

Vuoden aikana haastateltava huomasi, että ihmiset keskustelevat paljon **~~tavaroistaan: uusista~~** hankinnoistaan.
”**~~Se kääntyi muutaman kerran siihen, että~~** ihmiset alkoivat puolustella minulle ostoksiaan. Tai **~~he~~** kertoivat **~~minulle~~**, kuinka eivät olleetkaan menneet ostoksille. **~~Keskustelujen kautta~~** hahmotin, että ilmaisemme itseämme kulutusvalintojemme kautta. Ja jos se ei tuota onnellisuutta, tavaroita on helppo syyttää huonosta olosta.”

Esimerkki 14 havainnollistaa tekstualisaation erillisyyttä kahdesta muusta osaprosessista. Sen jälkeen kun toimittaja on haastattelutilanteessa ”tiivistänyt” keskeisiksi tulkitsemansa lausumat muutamiksi tukisanoiksi, hän on kirjoitustilanteessa valinnut, mitkä näistä asioista hän käyttää jutussa ja asemoinut ne muovautuvaan lehtijuttutekstiinsä. Sitaatin tekstiasun hän on sanoittanut ”de-koodaamalla” tukisanat juttua palveleviksi virkkeiksi. Kun toimittaja on tehnyt jutun toista versiota, paperiversiota, hän on muokannut lisää jo kertaalleen tekstualisoituja tekstiaineksia. Toisin sanoen paperiversion tekstualisointiprosessin lähtökohtana on ollut jo valmistunut verkkoversio, ei alkuperäinen haastattelukeskustelu eikä sen pohjalta tehdyt muistiinpanot.

Kulutusvalinnat-esimerkki osoittaa, että ottamalla tekstiversioiden analyysiin mukaan mahdollisimman monta tekstiproduktia (haastattelukeskustelu, muistiinpanot, verkkoversio, paperiversio) ja suhteuttamalla näin jäljitettyjä muokkauksia stimuloidun mieleenpalauttamisen avulla selvitettyihin työkäytäntöihin ja laajemmin lehdenteon institutionaalisiin reunaehtoihin on mahdollista kokonaisvaltaisesti ymmärtää rekontekstualisointiprosessia ja sitä ohjaavia tekijöitä.

5 Yhteenveto rekontekstualisoinnin tavoista

Edellä olen tarkastellut toimituksellisessa haastattelussa käydyn keskustelun ja sen pohjalta tehdyn journalistisen lehtijutun ja erityisesti lehtijuttuun tehtyjen sitaattien suhdetta analysoimalla aineistoani yksityiskohtaisesti. Haastattelun, lehtijutun ja muiden käytettävissä olevien tekstiproduktien sekä retrospektiivisiä haastatteluita sisältävän aineiston analyysillä olen ensisijaisesti osoittanut, millaisin tavoin puhunnosta muokataan suoria esityksiä eli sitaatteja tehtäessä.

Haastattelun rekontekstualisoinnista sitaateiksi voidaan hahmottaa kolme osaprosessia. Dekontekstualisoinnissa toimittaja valitsee tietyt osat haastattelua siteerattavakseen ja irrottaa ne alkuperäiskontekstistaan. Kontekstualisoinnissa toimittaja asemoi nämä kielenainekset tai -piirteet osaksi uutta kontekstia eli lehtijuttua. Tekstualisoinnissa toimittaja muokkaa uuteen kontekstiinsa asetetun tekstiaineksen kieliasua. Kokoan seuraavassa artikkelin keskeiset havainnot ryhmitellen ne löyhästi osaprosesseittain.

5.1 Dekontekstualisointi

Siteerattavaksi valitaan aina vain osa haastattelussa käydystä keskustelusta. Vähintään toimittajan ja haastateltavan tervehdykset haastattelun alussa ja lopussa jätetään pois, mutta käytännössä valtaosa haastattelussa käydystä keskustelusta ei päädy juttuun saati sitaatteihin.

Aineistoni perusteella sitaattiin saatetaan valita puhunnoksia useammasta kuin yhdestä kohtaa haastattelua. Tekstiaineksen ohella tai sijaan sitaattiin saatetaan dekontekstualisoida ”vain” keskustelussa esille nousseita asiasisältöjä tai esimerkiksi haastateltavan puheen rekisteriä, ja tällöin sitaatin konkreettinen tekstiaines on pitkälti uudelleensanoitettu. Lisäksi ei ole harvinaista, että sitaateissa on sellaista tekstiainesta tai muita diskursiivisia elementtejä, esimerkiksi illokutiivisia sävyjä, joita ei näytä olevan dekontekstualisoitu toimituksellisesta haastattelusta.

5.2 Kontekstualisointi

Luvussa 4 nostin esiin sen tärkeän huomion, että lehtijuttu ei ole selostus haastattelusta eikä sen toisinto, vaan dramaturgialtaan itsenäinen tekstikokonaisuus. Tästä peruslähtökohdasta seuraa, että siteerattavaksi valittujen tekstiainesten asemointi osaksi jutun kerrontaa edellyttää toimittajalta monenlaisia päätöksiä. Kuten retrospektiivinen haastatteluaineisto toi ilmi, nimenomaan sitaateiksi valitut kohdat haastattelusta toimivat monesti keskeisinä jutun rakenteen suunnittelua ja edelleen jutun muovautumista ohjaavina ”palikoina”.

Toimittajan ja haastateltavan käymä dialogi pelkistyy siteerattaessa siten, että toimittajan roolia haastatteluvuorovaikutuksessa häivytetään ja sitaatti esitetään ikään kuin haastateltava olisi tuottanut puheenvuoron itsenäisesti, yhtenäisesti ja omaehtoisesti. Olen nimennyt tämän rekontekstualisointikäytänteen *monologisoinniksi*. Tämä käytänne ei liity yksinomaan kontekstualisointivaiheeseen, vaan monologisoitumista tapahtuu – kuten analyysini ovat osoittaneet – kauttaaltaan eri kohdissa kolmea rekontekstualisoinnin osaprosessia. (Ks. Haapanen, tulossa 2016; myös Ekström 2001; Nylund 2006b; Harry 2014.)

5.3 Tekstualisointi

Silloin tällöin haastateltavan puhunnos on litteroitu sitaateiksi lehtijuttuun lähes sanatarkasti. Tällöinkin vähintään puheessa esiintyvät vaihtelevan mittaiset tauot sekä itsekorjaukset, suunnitteluilmaukset ja sanojen toistelu poistetaan. Aineistoni perusteella haastattelun ja sitaattien suhde on kuitenkin tekstiasun näkökulmasta usein paljon monimutkaisempi. Ensinnäkin siteerattavaksi valittua tekstiainesta on sanoja ja lausekkeita karsimalla suoraviivaistettu, ja usein siihen on tehty laajojakin poistoja. Toiseksi sitaatin kieliasua on hiottu vastaamaan kohdekontekstissa tavoiteltavaa, yleiskielistä rekisteriä.[11] Käytännössä tämä tehdään poistamalla lähtötekstin spontaanille haastattelukeskustelulle ominaiset kielenpiirteet (esim. tauot, toistot, suunnitteluilmaukset) ja epäsujuvuustekijät (esim. itsekorjaukset, katkonaiset rakenteet, puhevirheet) sekä yleiskielistämällä sanojen puheenomaista kirjoitusasua, usein ”täydentämällä” (esim. *ajatellu* → *ajatellut*). Satunnaiset puheenomaiset sananvalinnat tai kirjoitusasut, joskus lauserakenteetkin, näyttävät kuitenkin olevan sitaateissa mahdollisia.

Siteerattavan tekstiaineksen kielelliset muokkaukset yhdessä uudenlaiseen kontekstiin asemoinnin kanssa voivat muuttaa haastatteludiskurssin propositionaalista sisältöä, puhefunktiota tai sitaatin puhujasta rakentamaa vaikutelmaa. Joissain tilanteissa kielelliset muokkaukset voivat toisaalta neutralisoida uuden kontekstin vaikutuksia ja pitää näin sitaatin merkitystä ainakin joiltain edellä mainituilta osin lähellä alkuperäisen puheen merkityksiä (ks. myös Haapanen, tulossa 2016a: erit. esim. 1).

6 Lopuksi

Tässä artikkelissa olen tarkastellut toimituksellisten haastatteluiden rekontekstualisoitumista suoriksi esityksiksi eli sitaateiksi lehtijuttuihin. Lisäksi olen jäsentänyt prosessia rekontekstualisoinnin kolmen osaprosessin avulla.

Aiempi sitaattitutkimus (Lehrer 1989; Johnson Barella 2005), siinä missä referoinnin tutkimus yleisemminkin (esim. Kalliokoski 2005; ISK 2004 § 1457–1497). on keskittynyt tarkastelemaan niitä kielellisiä muokkauksia, joita haastattelupuhunnokseen on siteerattaessa tehty (tekstualisointi) – ja totta on, että nämä muutokset voivat olla silmiinpistäviä. Tekstiasun muokkaamisen sijaan merkittävämpää kuitenkin on se, mitä harvoja ja lyhyehköjä puhunnoksia toimittaja on kenties tunnin tai puolentoista pituisesta haastattelusta päättänyt valita (dekontekstualisointi) ja minkälaiseen tekstiympäristöön hän on ne lehtijutussa asemoinut (kontekstualisointi).

11. Stimuloitujen mieleenpalauttamisten lisäksi pyrkimys yleiskielisyyteen käy ilmi vuonna 2013 tekemästäni julkaisemattomasta selvityksestä, jossa keräsin satunnaisotannalla kuusi sitaattia 17 eri sanoma- ja aikakauslehdestä. Aineistosta käy hyvin ilmi, että sitaatit ovat kokonaisuudessaan hyvin yleiskielisiä ja mahdolliset puheenomaiset piirteet rajoittuvat lähinnä yksittäisiin sananvalintoihin (ks. myös Makkonen-Craig 1999). Poikkeuksen tekevät muutamien lehtien yksittäiset juttutyypit, joissa sitaatit ovat vahvasti puheenomaisia sanastonsa lisäksi myös lauserakenteeltaan. Tästä ei tietenkään käsillä olevan artikkelin tulosten valossa pidä tehdä johtopäätöstä, että tällaiset sitaatit olisivat yleiskielisiä sitaatteja suorempia eli kieliasultaan yhdenmukaisempia alkuperäisen haastattelupuheen kanssa.

Se, että lehtijuttu ei ole haastattelun selostus vaan itsenäinen tekstikokonaisuus, on avain lehtijuttujen siteerauksen ja yleisemmin referoinnin kokonaisvaltaiseen ymmärtämiseen. Tämän tutkimuksen keskiöön valittu, Linellin (1998a–b) mukaan määritelty käsite rekontekstualisointi tukee kokonaisvaltaista ymmärrystä siteerauksesta: kielenkäytön kulloisetkin relevantit eli kielenkäyttäjien aktivoimat kontekstuaaliset piirteet vaikuttavat siihen ja ohjaavat sitä, mitä haastattelusta sitaatteihin referoidaan ja miten. Jotta toimituksellisen haastattelun ja siitä tehtyjen lehtijuttujen ja sitaattien suhdetta voi siis ymmärtää, on ymmärrettävä kummatkin kielenkäytön kontekstit.

Aineistopohjainen tutkimukseni täsmentää ja konkretisoi Linellin teoreettista rekontekstualisoinnin käsitettä kahdessa suhteessa. Ensinnäkin aiempien tutkimusten esiin nostama tekstiaineksen muokkausvaihe on silmiinpistävyydestään huolimatta vain yksi pieni osa siteerausprosessia. Toiseksi ne kielelliset muokkaukset, joille sisällöt rekontekstualisoinnin edetessä Linellin (1998a: 155) mukaan ”altistuvat”, ovat tutkimukseni kohteena olevassa toimituksellisessa työssä konsanaan radikaalimpia kuin Linellin määritelmä antaa ymmärtää.

Tässä artikkelissa olen kuvannut, miten haastattelupuhetta rekontekstualisoidaan sitaateiksi. Kokonaisuutena aineistoni kuitenkin osoittaa, että rekontekstualisointiprosessin yksittäisiä osaprosesseja (ks. alalukuja 5.1, 5.2 ja 5.3) toteuttavat konkreettiset toimenpiteet vaihtelevat tilanteesta toiseen suuresti: Niiden määrä ja laatu vaihtelevat eri toimittajien mutta myös saman toimittajan tekemien juttujen välillä. Lisäksi määrä ja laatu vaihtelevat saman jutun sitaattien välillä ja jopa yksittäisen sitaatin sisällä. Osa sitaatista voi esimerkiksi olla hyvin sanatarkkaa siteerausta, osa vain väljästi haastattelupuhunnokseen perustuvaa.

Tutkimustulokset herättävät aiheellisen kysymyksen siitä, oliko aineiston rajaus kenties turhan väljä. Tutkimuksessa ei kuitenkaan aineistoni suhteellisesta suppeudesta huolimatta noussut esiin viitteitä siitä, että julkaisulla tai juttutyypillä olisi suoraviivaista korrelaatiota sen kanssa, mikä haastattelun ja sitaatin suhde on – ja kuten kävi ilmi, muokkaus saattoi olla erilaista myös yhden jutun ja yhden sitaatin sisällä. Se, että muokkauksen tapa vaihtelee samankin toimittajan eri jutuissa, osoittaa, että rekontekstualisoinnissa havaitussa vaihtelussa ei ole kyse vain toimittajien yksilöllisistä työtapaeroista, vaikka nekin epäilemättä kokonaiskuvaan vaikuttavat.

Seuraava, toisentyyppinen askel lehtijuttujen siteerauksen kokonaisvaltaisessa ymmärtämisessä on selvittää, mitkä seikat ohjaavat toimittajia siteeraamaan niillä moninaisilla tavoilla, joilla he tämän artikkelin tulosten mukaan siteeraavat. Tähän kysymykseen vastaaminen edellyttää siirtymistä aineiston kuvailusta sen selittämiseen, ja sitä kysymystä käsittelen toisaalla (ks. Haapanen tulossa 2016a, 2016b, 2016c).

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SUMMARY

Recontextualising interview discourse into quotations for written media

This article examines direct quoting in written journalism. Quoting is here conceptualised as recontextualisation, following Per Linell's definition, and analysed based on data consisting of recordings of authentic journalistic interviews from various journalists and the published articles based on these interviews. In addition, the ways and means of this recontextualisation are explained with the help of retrospective interviews conducted with these informant-journalists. Following Linell, the results of the analysis are structured into three functions of the process of recontextualisation: In decontextualisation, the quoted discourse is selected and extracted from the interview. Utterances from two or more places in an interview may be combined into one single quotation, and besides these concrete stretches of text, the mere content of the narrative or claim may be decontextualised. In contextualisation, the quoted discourse is positioned into the narration of the article. Since an article is dramaturgically speaking an independent text entity, the positioning need not follow the chronology of the interview. Furthermore, the dialogue between the journalist and the interviewee is monologised, that is to say, the involvement of the journalist in the original oral discourse is mostly obscured in the article and the quotations are presented as the interviewee's continuous and spontaneous speech. In textualisation, the quoted discourse is textually and linguistically modified. At least pauses, self-repairs, word repetitions and other features resulting from the process nature of the interview are deleted. In addition, recontextualised text can be trimmed and even large omissions made. Linguistic form is also polished towards the aspired standardised register, although occasional vernacular cues are possible. The analysis shows that modification and positioning in the new context can change the propositional meaning and the speech function of the quotation as well as the impression of the speaker represented by the quotation. However, linguistic modifications of quotations can occasionally neutralise the impact of the new context and can thus, at least to some extent, preserve a meaning equal to the original journalistic interview.

Haastattelupuheen rekontekstualisointi sitaateiksi lehtijuttuun

Artikkelissa tutkitaan journalistisessa haastattelussa esitetyn puheen ja siitä lehtijuttuun tehdyn suoran esityksen eli sitaatin suhdetta. Artikkelin keskeinen teoreettinen käsite on Per Linellin määrittelemä *rekontekstualisointi,* ja haastattelun rekontekstualisoitumista sitaateiksi tarkastellaan empiirisen, nauhoitetuista haastatteluista ja niiden pohjalta tehdyistä lehtijutuista koostuvan tutkimusaineiston pohjalta. Lisäksi analyysin kuvaamia rekontekstualisointitapoja perustellaan informanttitoimittajien kanssa tehtyjen retrospektiivisten haastatteluiden avulla ja jäsennetään rekontekstualisoinnin osaprosessien mukaisesti. *Dekontekstualisoinnissa* siteerattava puhunnos valitaan ja irrotetaan haastatteludiskurssista. Sitaattiin saatetaan valita tekstiainesta useasta kohtaa haastattelua, ja toisaalta haastattelusta saatetaan dekontekstualisoida konkreettisen tekstiaineksen sijaan vain haastattelun sisältöä. *Kontekstualisoinnissa* siteerattava tekstiaines asemoidaan tarkoituksenmukaisiin kohtiin muokkautumassa olevaa lehtijuttua. Toimittajan ja haastateltavan käymä dialogi usein pelkistetään eli monologisoidaan sitaatiksi siten, että toimittajan roolia haastatteluvuorovaikutuksessa häivytetään ja sitaatti esitetään ikään kuin se olisi alkujaan haastateltavan itsenäisesti, yhtenäisesti ja omaehtoisesti tuottama. *Tekstualisoinnissa* siteeratun tekstiaineksen kieliasua muokataan, vähintään poistamalla puheen tauot, itsekorjaukset ja suunnitteluilmaukset. Lisäksi tekstiainesta usein karsitaan ja siihen saatetaan tehdä laajojakin poistoja. Sitaatin kieliasua myös hiotaan kohti tavoiteltavaa, yleiskielistä rekisteriä, joskin satunnaiset puheenomaiset piirteet ovat mahdollisia. Kokonaisuutena versioanalyysi osoittaa, että kielelliset muokkaukset ja uudenlaiseen kontekstuaaliseen ympäristöön asemointi voivat muuttaa siteeratun diskurssin propositionaalista sisältöä, puhefunktiota ja sitaatin puhujasta rakentamaa vaikutelmaa. Joissain tilanteissa kielelliset muokkaukset toisaalta neutralisoivat uuden kontekstin vaikutuksia ja pitävät näin sitaatin merkitystä – ainakin joiltain osin – alkuperäisen haastatteludiskurssin mukaisena.

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Article IV

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MONOLOGISATION AS A QUOTING PRACTICE
Obscuring the journalist's involvement in written journalism

Lauri Haapanen

This paper explores a particular aspect of journalistic quoting, monologisation. During monologisation, the interactive turn exchange between the journalist and the interviewee is simplified in the resulting article. This simplification process mainly takes the form of obscuring the role of the journalist in the original spoken discourse. As a result, the quotations appear to be unprompted, continuous utterances by the interviewee, and this in turn has seminal consequences for the interpretation of the quotation. This paper will demonstrate that monologisation is an effective means for journalists to steer the reading of the article and to include their own points of view without breaking the professional rule that journalism must separate facts from opinions. The results of this study are based on a comparison between two types of empirical data; recordings of journalistic interviews, on the one hand, and published articles, on the other. This study will focus on one particular type of journalistic interview that has been largely neglected in prior research along with its specific quoting practices, namely the interviews were conducted by the journalists in order to collect raw material for written journalistic items, published either in print or electronic form. This paper will show that interviews of this type involve highly diverse and mutually adaptive interaction, contrary to the clearly structured question–answer interviews that are used as sound bites in television news items and have thus far remained the primary focus of research on both journalistic interviews and quoting processes. The notion of monologisation could be applied in various domains where an interview is converted into a written account, such as research interviewing and police interrogations.

KEYWORDS direct speech; journalistic interviews; monologisation; print media; quotations; quoting practices; version analysis

Introduction

Journalistic interviews are a common means for journalists to gather raw material for their articles (see e.g. Ekström 2001), which frequently utilise direct quotations drawn from these interviews (see Ekström 2006; Haapanen and Perrin, forthcoming). In this paper, I examine the quoting process that begins with an oral interview and results in the finalised, published article with one or more direct quotations. Through this process, the journalist re-contextualises spoken discourse into a written form. My goal is to explore how this ostensibly "direct" relationship of the original spoken and the final written discourse is subject to changes, both in terms of its linguistic form and the different types of situated meanings (see e.g. Linell 1998, 154–155; Perrin 2013, 28). More specifically, I examine a particular aspect of this re-contextualisation that I have termed *monologisation*.

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During monologisation, the interactive turn exchange between the journalist and the interviewee(s) is modified—often simplified in several respects, if not totally concealed—for the article. This modification is made, above all, by obscuring the involvement and influence of the journalist in the original spoken discourse. As a result, the quotations appear to be unprompted and continuous utterances by the interviewee. Thus, the regular understanding of the words *dialogue* and *monologue* succeeds in reflecting the contrast between a journalistic interview as a discourse with relatively frequent turn-taking by two (or more) participants and a published, edited quotation as a discourse by a single language user (see also Haapanen, forthcoming a, section 3.4).

As the empirical data of this paper show, interaction between the journalist and the interviewee in the journalistic interview is substantially characterised by co-operativeness and equality. Since any single stretch of discourse receives its situated meaning in relation to its interactionally accomplished contexts (see e.g. Linell 2009), deliberate modification of the impression that is created of original interaction, such as simplification, provides the journalist with substantial means for controlling the interpretation of the readers. In other words, the journalist can exploit the dialogue and common understanding that emerges in the interview for his or her own purposes (see also Eriksson 2011; Kroon Lundell and Ekström 2010; Nylund 2003). Thus, the notion of monologisation contributes to the discussion of power relations in journalism.

I begin by explaining the background of the notion of monologisation and reviewing the related studies. Additionally, I highlight the intrinsic differences between various types of journalistic interviews. Next, I introduce the data and methods of the present study and then elaborate the concept of monologisation in three consecutive subsections, which also particularise the nature of such journalistic interviews conducted to gather raw material for journalistic articles. After that I discuss the societal significance of the practice of monologisation, and finally, I summarise and discuss the findings and conclude that the notion of monologisation is not only interesting in theorising journalistic work practices but is also a key to a critical reading of the media of our time.

Background and Related Studies

My conceptualisation and understanding of monologisation has arisen from two primary conclusions of my earlier research. Firstly, version analysis indicated that there is an intrinsically complex relation between journalistic interviews and the quotations that are based on them (Haapanen, forthcoming a). Secondly, stimulated recall interviews suggested that this complexity was explained by the journalists' deliberate and overarching attempt to fulfil the objectives of the article when formulating quotations, rather than sticking to the idea that the quotations must be "direct", that is, word-for-word, or at least meaning-for-meaning, testimonies of the original utterances (Haapanen, forthcoming b). What remained unexplained when relating the text analytical findings (result 1) to the journalists' self-reflections (result 2) was the phenomenon that is under discussion in this paper: monologisation. It is noteworthy that despite the indication in my empirical data that monologisation is a common and everyday practice, journalists themselves did not encapsulate and/or conceptualise this particular procedure when discussing their work process. Therefore, the close scrutiny and articulation of this particular practice could also provide practitioners with added value.

Monologisation can also be considered a blind spot in research on the production of media items. While a somewhat similar phenomenon has briefly been described in earlier research, it has not been given comprehensive consideration (Clayman 1990; Eriksson 2006, 2011; Kroon Lundell and Ekström 2010; Nylund 2006, 2011; Perrin 2013).[1] Previous research has predominately focused on television news productions, arguing that the majority of sound-bite quotes are "isolated answers", meaning that answers to specific questions are presented independently without the questions. This creates, first of all, the impression that the comments are made on the speaker's own initiative. Furthermore, removing the journalist's original question also changes the meaning of the quoted utterance, as pointed out by Ekström:

> The widespread practice of divorcing answers from questions give news journalists considerable leeway, for example, to ask leading questions and otherwise provoke answers which may then be presented to the public as the interviewee's spontaneous comments. (Ekström 2001, 569)

However, Ekström's research had no access to the original interview situations to assess the true nature of the original turn exchange. Nevertheless, Ekström presupposed and simultaneously renewed the perception that a journalistic interview is fundamentally an exchange of questions and answers and that quoted passages are inherently answers to questions. This notion might be valid in certain types of journalistic interviews.

Firstly, there are press conferences, in which many journalists, one after another, each present a question to an interviewee(s) and are unlikely to have an opportunity for a follow-up question. This naturally leads to well-prepared—and often more complex—questions (see e.g. Clayman 1993; Eriksson and Östman 2013). Secondly, there are so-called news interviews, which are relatively long stretches of unedited turn-taking used as one segment of a news programme or the overarching format for the programme as a whole (Clayman and Heritage 2002, 1). In most news interviews a single journalist is in charge of the questioning at any given time, and this allows him or her the freedom to ask follow-up questions. News interviews are among the most thoroughly researched forms of broadcast talk (see e.g. Clayman and Heritage 2002; Fetzer 2002; Fetzer and Weizman 2006; Harris 1991; Hutchby 2005, 2006; Lauerbach 2007; Montgomery 2007), and the field has shown signs of diversification from the study of general features to more specialised practices geared to particular subgenres (Clayman and Romaniuk 2011). Thirdly, there are journalistic interviews that are incorporated as sound-bite quotes into television or radio news items (see e.g. Ekström 2001; Kroon Lundell and Ekström 2010; Nylund 2006, 2011; Perrin 2013). To reduce unexpected and/or incoherent communication, these interviews conducted in front of the camera or microphone tend to precede so-called pre-interviews. Pre-interviews refer to a process during which a journalist contacts prospective interviewees, listens to what they know, and assesses if they are capable of delivering succinct and fluent quotes. Although pre-interviews have not been studied much, it is probable that they often emerge in a more informal and inconsistent way than the filmed or tape-recorded interviews with fixed lists of preconceived questions (Nylund 2011).[2]

One common—yet less studied—type of a journalistic interview still remains unaddressed, namely a journalistic interview conducted to gather[3] raw material for a *journalistic article* (abbreviated henceforth "JA"). Since the emergence of the interview varies depending on the medium (Quinn 2005, 102), in journalistic interviews for a JA, the interaction between the journalist and the interviewee is, in fact, much more diverse and complex than might be assumed on the basis of the findings of television-focused research (see e.g. Clayman and Heritage 2002, 95).

These characteristics of journalistic interviews for a JA is the very reason why I argue that in written journalism the phenomenon of monologisation is not only more diverse but also more significant than in audio-visually broadcasted media: journalistic interviews conducted for a JA are relatively long, unstructured, and informal, as will be illustrated below (see also Haapanen, forthcoming a). Therefore, the process of constructing a concise and pertinent article out of such "loose" raw material requires—and simultaneously enables—more substantial editing than a television news production. In the latter, journalists are advised, for example, to limit the length of their interviews to five minutes and to prevent the interviewee from rambling (Gormly 2004, 250–255).

Data and Methods

This paper draws from two empirical data-sets, which comprise recordings of authentic interviews conducted by several journalists (data-set 1) and the published articles written by these same journalists on the basis of their interviews (data-set 2). All the articles were published in the Finnish media between 2012 and 2014.

To begin with, there were no research results indicating that a particular title, media genre (e.g. national/regional newspapers, women's magazines, bulletins) or article type (e.g. news, profiles, features, reportages) would be a decisive factor in the making of quotations. Therefore, I considered the *journalistic interview* to be an appropriate starting point for my data collection. First of all, a journalistic interview is clearly one of the conventionalised premise(s) for information-gathering in journalistic work (Ekström 2006, 23). Most commonly it is an oral, one-to-one interview that is performed in a somewhat conventional way and, despite the variations in execution, has an explicit purpose—most obviously, to gather information for an article. This kind of interview also has a fixed overall structure and predetermined participant roles. Apart from one-to-one interviews, I also included a few press conferences in my data, because they are another common way of collecting data for articles (Eriksson and Östman 2013). This expansion also makes my research more comparable to the existing studies on quoting in written journalism, since they also consist of press conferences (see Johnson Barella 2005; Lehrer 1989).

I did not set any prerequisites for the interviewees of these interviews and press conferences. Although the identities of the interviewees might influence quoting practices, I assume that this interplay is more complex than, for example, Davis's (1985, 47) much-cited insight "the higher the status of a speaker, the more direct the presentation" suggests (for a comparison between two interview–article pairs with the President of Finland, Sauli Niinistö, see Haapanen, forthcoming a, section 3.1).

Thus, the first data-set consists of 20 recordings of authentic journalistic interviews and press conferences from 16 experienced journalists who work as either full-time employees or as freelancers for various established publications. I asked the journalists to record one or two interviews for my research purposes, but I did not disclose the exact objective of my study. The length of these interviews varied considerably, ranging from less than 2 minutes to 1 hour 45 minutes. I have written permissions from these journalists to use these recordings for research purpose.

The second data-set consists of 21[4] published articles that were based on the interviews and press conferences in the first data-set. The articles could be categorised as news, profiles, and fact-focused interviews, although no clear-cut typology of journalistic articles exists (however, for a typology of news articles, see Vandendaele, De Cuypere, and Van

Praet 2015). These articles were published in newspapers, magazines, business-to-consumer magazines ("B2C magazines"), and Web publications.

After collecting the data, a rough transcript of each recording was prepared. Subsequently, the passages that served as the basis for the quotations in the published articles were transcribed in further detail. In the examples presented in this paper, I have marked:

pauses	(.)
points of overlap onset	[speaker 1 [speaker 2
truncation of an intonational phrase / a word	this is a- / examp-
substantially rising intonation	?

All the data were originally in Finnish. For the purposes of this paper, the data excerpts are presented in English, while the original Finnish versions are attached as Appendix A. To maintain the anonymity of my informant-journalists and the interviewees mentioned in their articles, all the names and other identifying characteristics have been changed.

The analytical method applied to these two data-sets is version analysis (in media linguistics, see Perrin 2013, 62), which is a method of analysing data to reconstruct the changes that occur in the linguistic features of two different versions of data. In my research design, I will first examine the diverse nature of journalistic interviews in terms of interaction. Subsequently, I will analyse how these interactional and mutually constructed features are—or are not—reflected in the quotations of their new co-text and context.

Types of Monologisation Practices

In this section, I will begin by introducing the most straightforward monologisation practices in which the journalistic interview for a JA consists of questions and answers, with both elements reproduced to some extent in the published article. I will then proceed to discuss more complex practices in which the journalistic interview for a JA comprises both questions and answers, but the questions are omitted from the published article. Finally, I will cover the most common and yet the most complex composition of journalistic interviews for a JA. In these interviews, the turn exchange between the journalist and the interviewee is relatively "equal", which could be best described through negation: these types of interview situations involve diverse interaction, but no clearly shaped question–answer exchange. This type of interaction is then predominately obscured through monologisation, generating changes in both the meaning of the quoted content and the impression disseminated about the original interaction between the journalist and the interviewee.

Original Turn-exchange is Reproduced but Reduced

Human social interaction is known to be sequentially organised through turn-taking (see e.g. Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974). A *journalistic interview* is an institutionalised form of human interaction that occurs between a journalist and an interviewee. According to Heritage, this institutional aspect constrains the participants and causes "dramatic differences" as compared to everyday conversation:

> In conversation, topics emerge freely and in a variety of ways, the participants are free to make diverse contributions to the subject at hand and anyone can initiate a new line of departure. In the news interview, by contrast, the participants are fundamentally constrained.

> Interviewers restrict themselves to questioning and interviewees restrict themselves to answering the interviewers' questions, or at least responding to them. (Heritage 1998, 7)

It should be noted that Heritage's observation concerns first and foremost audio-visually broadcasted (live) news interviews. However, as no similar comparison exists between everyday conversation and journalistic interviews for a JA, I adopt Heritage's claim as the basis for the structure of my analysis. Against this initial description, I will begin to compose an understanding of journalistic interviews for a JA.

I will first examine a case where the journalist poses a question and the interviewee answers it, and this question–answer sequence is shown in the article as well. The example ("Dancer") below is extracted from a profile article published in a magazine. The subject is a dancer (Korhonen) and her work.

Example 1A: "Dancer" (profile article / published in a magazine).

> But what does the performance convey in practice? Who is Korhonen on stage?
>
> "My approach has always gone towards not assuming a role."

Example 1B below shows the particular portion of the journalistic interview that acts as the basis of the extract above, demonstrating the relationship between the two. The left-hand column contains the transcript of the interview, whereas the right-hand column presents the quotation and the preceding text as they appeared in the JA. The corresponding sections are placed on the same row.

Example 1B: "Dancer" (journalistic interview versus published article).

	Journalistic interview (transcript)	Published article (excerpt)
1	**JO[urnalist]**: I didn't have this [question] included with those questions but but I realised that I've been thinking about this the whole time I've watched your- or sort of studied, these pieces in particular and this- well well (.) because these are somehow so (.) very common (.) like kinda (.) hu- human-sized and like well like kinda somehow (.) thematically universal in a way (.) **IN[terviewee]**: yeah? **JO**: so well so errr	
2		But what does the performance convey in practice?
3	**JO**: do you have roles on stage or or i- is it you who kinda like then performs stuff	Who is Korhonen on stage?
4	**JO**: I dunno if I ca- can explain [this **IN**: [yeah **JO**: very well **IN**: yeah I get it- (.)	
5	**IN**: well, this aesthetics of mine if one could call it that **JO**: mm **IN**: or or or approach or thinking **JO**: mm **IN**: in my art has specifically (.) like **JO**: mm **IN**: always g-gone towards not having roles	"My approach has always gone towards not assuming a role."

Even a cursory review of the comparison presented in Example 1B reveals that two core elements of the interview are reproduced in the article. The first is the journalist's question on row 3 (without quotation marks, which is a common convention in the field of written media) and the second is the interviewee's answer on row 5. While the question has undergone a relatively extensive rewording, the answer is re-contextualised on a more verbatim basis, although some considerable modifications have occurred.

These modifications have simplified and obscured the process-like nature of the original discourse in several ways, as analysed below. Firstly, the interview discourse that was jointly produced contained a considerable number of continuers (*mm*) by the journalist (row 5), which serve to signal the interviewee to continue her turn (see e.g. Schegloff 1982). In the quotation, these discourse particles are deleted, which creates the impression that the interviewee has originally uttered her comment in a continuous and spontaneous way.

Secondly, expressions of word search and planning, for example, the planning device "like" (originally, *niinku*) and repetitions of words, are deleted from both the answer and the question. Furthermore, word forms typical of spontaneous spoken language are edited to accommodate the forms of the standard language. However, there is one exception: on row 5, in its original Finnish form, the quotation contains the pronoun *mun* (pro *minun* "my"). These types of short pronoun forms are typical of spoken Finnish discourse and indeed the interviewee uses them throughout her speech in the interview, but they are much more distinctive in the written format. This one occurrence of "mimicking" can be interpreted as a deliberate means to create an illusion of spoken language in the quotation (Haapanen 2011).

Thirdly, the interviewee begins her utterance (row 5) with a discourse particle translated as "well" (*no* in Finnish), which signifies both a shift in topic and the fact that the speaker is reserving a longer turn for herself to speak of this new topic (Vepsäläinen, in preparation). This discourse particle is absent from the quotation, which in turn reduces the reader's possibilities to deduce the original function of the quoted passage.

Finally, the interview discourse preceding the quoted section also contains many interactional elements that are likewise concealed from the reader. Firstly, on row 1, the journalist provides the premise of her question. This background is omitted from the article entirely. Then, following her main question on row 3, the journalist presents one more question (row 4), as if doubting her ability to make her point clear. This procedure-related "metaquestion" and the interviewee's answer are likewise eliminated. (Furthermore, there is an additional question [row 2] in the article that does not exist in the interview. I will return to this point later in this section.)

To summarise, despite these obvious modifications in the linguistic form of the utterances of both the journalist and the interviewee, the represented section reflects the chronology of the authentic turn-taking that it is based on. However, as many elements of the original interaction *in* this section (such as the continuers of the journalist) and *around* this section are absent (e.g. the agenda setting and the self-reflection), the original participatory roles, especially that of the journalist, are dispelled and, similarly, the intrinsic complexity of the original interview interaction is concealed from the reader.

It should also be kept in mind that journalistic articles are not protocols of the course of the oral interviews they are based on, but are dramaturgically independent stories (Haapanen 2016). For example, if a published article contains a question leading to the quotation, this does not necessarily mean that this particular question was presented in the actual interview, let alone in its exact linguistic form. The first question of the published article on row 2 is a case in point. As this question had no equivalent in the interview, it was perhaps formulated for narrative reasons, such as to create a background context for the next question in the journalistic article (row 3).

Interestingly, a complete, faithful reproduction of the original interaction, even to the extent of Example 1, is very rare in the collected data (the same applies to broadcasted news; see Ekström 2001).

Questions Omitted, Answers Reproduced Without "Answer-ness"

This subsection discusses a common monologisation practice that involves a quotation (and in this example, also an indirect quotation) drawn from the interview, while the journalist's preceding question is edited out. This results in considerable distortion regarding the way the original interaction between the journalist and the interviewee is reflected and constructed in the article.

Example 2 ("Feedback") is drawn from a newspaper article that discusses a service launched by a particular public library to provide feedback for amateur writers. Again, I will first present the extract of the published article (Example 2A) and then complement it with the transcript of the interview between the journalist and the interviewee (librarian Numminen) in Example 2B.

Example 2A: "Feedback" (news article / published in a regional newspaper).

> According to Numminen, people expect a little too much of evaluation services, meaning that in actuality, one is supposed to read a long piece of text and give concrete advice on how to get it published.
>
> "If there are about a hundred pages of text to be evaluated, I read maybe thirty pages, plus a few excerpts from underneath the most interesting headings."

Example 2B: "Feedback" (journalistic interview versus published article).

	Journalistic interview (transcript)	Published article (excerpt)
1	**JO**: So in what way do customers receive this feedback or with what kind of expectations do they come here	
2	**IN**: well some ha- some expect a little too much that we'd direct (.) that we'd read some immensely long piece of text all the way through and (.) advise how it will get published (.) however we prefer to read the brief (.) brief excerpt of the text and give an evaluation of that	According to Numminen, people expect a little too much of evaluation services, meaning that in actuality, one is supposed to read a long piece of text and give concrete advice on how to get it published.
3	**JO**: What is brief (.) in this case	
4	**IN**: well from one particular (.) hundred plus pages long text I read thirty pages (.) and then (.) browsed through it and read a few interesting headings (.) or rather a couple of paragraphs with interesting headings, not just the headings of course	"If there are about a hundred pages of text to be evaluated, I read maybe thirty pages, plus a few excerpts from underneath the most interesting headings."

The interview turn-taking is characterised by the journalist's initiating and interrogative role. However, when the journalist wrote her article based on this interview, her own role as the initiator and interrogator was predominately concealed from the reader. The journalist's question on row 1 (*So in what way do customers receive this feedback … ?)* is excluded from the article. The answer to that question on row 2 is moulded into an indirect quotation where the content of the passage is clearly attributed to the interviewee (*According to Numminen* …), but the linguistic form does not necessarily follow the original utterance word-for-word. However, this particular indirect quotation does not reveal to the reader who took the initiative for the quoted passage and what this initiative might have been.

On row 3, the journalist produces a follow-up question to clarify a qualifier that the interviewee used (the length of *brief*). The interviewee answers this follow-up question (in the left-hand column of row 4), and this answer is reproduced as a direct quotation in the article (in the right-hand column of row 4). Nonetheless, the formulation of the beginning of the quotation is rather different from the beginning of the answer. Among other aspects, the discourse particle “well” (originally *no* in Finnish) is once again deleted. Furthermore, the issue is presented as a generic example of work practices in the quotation, although the utterance refers in the interview to the particular case under discussion. As a consequence, from the published quotation alone, the reader cannot deduce the type of turn-taking that it is based on. Also as the lay definition of an interview clearly rests on the assumption of asking and answering, a reader who attempts to “de-code” the questions might devise guesses such as *What have people’s expectations of this service been?* and *How many pages does one read as a sample?* As can be observed in Example 2B, these guesses are quite different from the actual questions posed in the interview.

Finally, in terms of the linguistic features of the interaction, Example 2B demonstrates several deviations between the original and the re-contextualised discourse. Compared to the journalist in Example 1, the journalist in Example 2 does not steer the conversation by using continuers or any verbal discourse particles.[5] Despite this, the process-like features, such as the slight confusion as to the headings on row 4, are “corrected” in the quotation, and the flow and register of the text is standardised.

To summarise the main findings of this subsection, the journalists’ initiating, interrogative, and participatory role in the to-be-quoted discourse is edited out and the responsive nature of the to-be-quoted turns of the interviewee is concealed. In the next subsection, I will discuss a case where the original interaction in the journalistic interview for a JA is more complex than what we have seen in Examples 1 and 2. This further extends the consequences of monologisation.

An Equal Turn-exchange is Dispelled

In the previous examples, the journalists presented (relatively) clear questions and the interviewees answered them (see Examples 1B and 2B), even though many features indicating that they were responses, their *answer-ness*, were subsequently deleted from the quotations. However, the course of a journalistic interview for a JA does not always, or even often, proceed in such a well-ordered and structured way. Instead, interviews that are conducted “only” to gather information but not to be broadcasted (see broadcasted news interviews treated in Clayman and Heritage 2002), most commonly consist of joint production and reciprocal negotiation (e.g. Nylund 2006, 212–213). Furthermore, interviewee-driven journalistic interviews are not exceedingly rare, either. That is to say that the interviewee might digress from the topic introduced by the journalist, or even come up with a different (sub)topic of their own.

I will illustrate these observations with an interview–article pair (Example 3, "Engineer") drawn from a business magazine. The article discusses the company and career of a Chinese immigrant in Finland who speaks Finnish as a second language.

Example 3A: "Engineer" (mini profile / published in a business magazine).

At Midsummer 1994, Wang's life changed completely when she arrived in a deserted Helsinki with her husband.

"In China I was a successful diploma engineer [original: *diplomi-insinööri*, 'Master of Science in Technology'], here I was nothing. It was hard to accept."

Since the interviewee is a non-native Finnish speaker, she not only has a foreign accent, but also makes frequent errors in inflection and word choice. However, these features were all "corrected" into standard Finnish in the article (see Appendix A). In my English translation, I have not attempted to replicate the incorrect language features.

Example 3B: "Engineer" (journalistic interview versus published article).

	Journalistic interview (transcript)	Published article (excerpt)
1	[*The interviewee discusses her education, and the journalist asks a related follow-up question:*] **JO**: Where did you study? [*The interviewee answers in a verbose way and then digresses to ponder on the importance of language skills and local education for immigrants on her own initiative, without any question from the journalist. This section takes about 1 minute 50 seconds*]	
2		At Midsummer 1994, Wang's life changed completely when she arrived in a deserted Helsinki with her husband.
3	**IN**: although I was so good (.) I can say that I was a diploma engineer and everything (.) education and career and (.) at the peak [of my career] in China at that time **JO**: yeah	"In China I was a successful diploma engineer,
4	**IN**: but when I came here I am (.) a zero (.)	here I was nothing.
5	**JO**: was [it a hard situation to [accept **IN**: [if you cannot- [yes yes it was **JO**: okay	It was hard to accept."

First of all, the original utterance that the quotation was based on was not an answer to a direct question. This is in contrast to Examples 1 and 2, where the utterances were answers to the journalist's questions. It is true that the quotation is not even presented as or purported to be an answer. However, this does not mean that the quotation could not be an answer, as was demonstrated in Example 2.

In my data, detaching the journalistic interviews conducted for a JA from the question–answer structure is very common. For example, in the journalistic interview of Example 3, the journalist's most recent question (see row 1) was presented almost two minutes earlier. After this question, the interviewee digressed from one topic to another on her own initiative. During this digressing, the journalist did not pose any formal questions, only minor dialogue particles that allowed the interviewee to continue with her turn.

In Example 3, nothing in the article itself offers clues that the quotations would not follow the original interview discourse in a more or less verbatim way. Despite that, the published article and the journalistic interview exhibit a number of essential differences, which I will examine in detail in the following paragraphs.

In the interview, the section from which the quotation was later extracted is preceded by a mutual reflection on the importance of language skills and local education for immigrants. As has been argued before, sense-making processes are always dependent on contextual resources (see e.g. Linell 2009, 2.5), and thus, the rhetorical function of the to-be-quoted section in the interview can be perceived as an example for the preceding co-text. (In other words, as an answer to a hypothetical question such as *Can you give an example why these skills are important?*) However, in the published article, there is a paragraph leading to the quotation saying that "At Midsummer 1994, Wang's life changed completely when she arrived in a deserted Helsinki with her husband" (see row 2). This leading paragraph is an obvious primary frame (Goffman 1974) against which the reader will interpret the illocution of the quotation. Thus, the following quotation functions as an illustrative explanation for this "change". (That is, as an answer to a hypothetical question such as *What does it mean that your life "changed completely"?*)[6] Therefore, due to monologisation and especially the fact that the quoted discourse is positioned in a new matrix of contexts, the function of this quoted discourse has changed from its original one.

Next, I will focus on the quoted passage. In terms of the intrinsic meaning of the quote (as distinct from its rhetorical function or purpose in language use), the quote virtually paraphrases the stretch of the interview discussion on which it is based (on the left versus the right side of rows 3–5). However, the exact wording is predominately new, which might be due to both the spontaneous nature of the interview and the interviewee's imperfect language skills. Contrary to rows 3 and 4, the latter sentence of the quotation (the right-hand column of row 5) is not actually based on the interviewee's utterances at all (the left-hand column of row 5). Instead, the sentence is modified after the journalist's "sympathetic" question (*was it a hard situation to accept?*), which prompted the interviewee to elaborate on the topic and which was followed by an affirmative answer (*yes yes it was*). One might even question whether the interviewee would have raised this "issue of acceptance" of her own accord, because when the journalist posed the question, the interviewee was on the verge of beginning her own new speaking turn (*if you cannot-*), which she then interrupted to answer the journalist's question instead.

Example 3 contains several aspects that were hidden from the reader by monologising the journalistic interview for a JA. Firstly, the interviewee herself introduced the quoted subject matter in the interview without the journalist posing a question or providing any other type of clear initiative. Nothing in the published article referred to such an initiative. Secondly, the evaluative and personal quotation creates an illusion that it was uttered in an independent and continuous way, although it was actually based on both participants' active, joint production (as in television news production; see Nylund 2006, 216). Additionally, the quotation was framed with a slightly misleading co-text, which further reduces the reader's possibility to deduce the course of the original interaction.

It is worth pointing out that the monologisation of the above-mentioned features was by no means a mechanical and axiomatic process, by which I mean that this original interview discourse—as well as any given interview discourse—could have been monologised in numerous other ways. Thus, in general, the practice of monologisation provides the journalist with substantial means not only for controlling the exploitation of the dialogue and the common understanding which emerges in the interview, but also for steering the readers' understanding of the current state of affairs. This is an important point that I will now elaborate and discuss.

The Social Relevance of Monologisation Practices

Modern societies should have space for competing forces to negotiate socially relevant topics. The importance of monologisation—among other journalistic practices in general and quoting practices in particular—relates to the fact that media are expected to provide that space and serve there both as gatekeepers and discourse moderators (see e.g. Ekström 2002, 259; Berger 2007, 209). While the purpose of this paper is not to posit normative claims about what is right or wrong when quoting, I do want to demonstrate the social relevance of the practice of monologisation by citing a strong and topical, recent example.

In the spring of 2015, an alleged (and later substantiated) gang rape occurred in Helsinki, Finland's capital. A prominent Finnish newspaper quoted a police officer in its website news item in the following way: "The woman was not severely physically injured in this incident" (original: "Nainen ei loukkaantunut fyysisesti vakavasti tapahtuneessa"). The quotation was preceded by a somewhat "neutral" co-text, by which I refer to the text not strongly steering the interpretations of this quotation in any manner. In fact, the same quotation was also used in another news item in the same publication and was preceded there by a different co-text. The inflammatory news item provoked hundreds of comment posts from the readers of this newspaper. In many of them, the comment-writer seized on this very quotation and interpreted it—genuinely or on purpose—as showing that this police officer understated the injuries of the victim and thus diminished rape as a crime.

Based on the results of the research presented in this paper, I became suspicious about the real state of affairs. I contacted the journalist who had interviewed the police officer and co-written the news item. The journalist told me that the quoted utterance was a verbatim reproduction of an answer to his question "Was the victim severely injured?" (However, there was no audio recording of this interview so he had based his article on his hand-written notes.) The journalist also stated that his intention was to quote this utterance in the news item in an unbiased way. "I perceived the answer as neutral, and did not try to make any interpretation of the answer", he told me in an e-mail. However, due to monologisation—especially due to the omission of the journalist's initiating and interrogative role—the news item resulted in the misapprehension by the general public that the police had dismissed this crime as well as the psychological injuries it had probably caused. More generally, this news item might have enhanced the resilient perception that the police dismiss sexual crimes, a perception that turned out to be false, at least on this particular occasion.

Let us speculate for a moment, since this question presented to the police officer, regardless of its simplicity, was anything but easy to answer. What really could the police officer have replied to the question "Was the victim severely injured?"? A negative answer—"No, she was not severely injured"—would have been misleading because it would have neglected the possibility of psychological injuries. On the other hand, neither would a positive answer have worked because the police was not aware of any "severe" injuries at this early stage of the crime investigation. In this light, I argue that the police officer did his best in commenting on the issue that he had not introduced on his own initiative but as an answer to the question presented to him.

However, the story goes on. The next day, this news item was followed up by a column in the same paper. The columnist, another journalist for the same newspaper, wrote that due to the dismissive attitude reflected in the police officer's statement, it was hard to keep in mind that "we are not living in the eighteenth century or in India". This Web column—which was read by several superiors before publication, as I was told—immediately received a vast number of shares in social media and the comment section exploded with comments. I assume that if not yet completely implied by the original news item, this follow-up column did convince readers that the interpretation "the police dismissed this crime" was the correct one. Only a few of these commentators eventually challenged how the discussion between the police officer and the journalist had actually emerged in the interview of the first article—which shows readers' unawareness of monologisation practices. To sum up, the practice of monologisation and the misleading follow-up column substantially affected the public discourse around the discussion of the police's credibility.

Conclusion

Traditionally, journalistic interviews are thought to consist of the journalist's questions and the interviewee's answers (see e.g. Clayman and Heritage 2002, 95). However, as regards journalistic interviews conducted for a JA—in contrast to those interviews that are used as sound bites in television news—the reality is much more complex.

Journalistic interviews conducted for a JA do not only comprise a series of adjacent pairs of questions and answers, but also the interviewees themselves often take the initiating roles in interview conversations. Furthermore, in addition to posing questions, the journalists also engage in the interview firstly by using various responsive devices (such as *um*, *yeah*, *okay*) to prompt the interviewee to continue their turn, and secondly, by using longer follow-ups (for instance, in Example 3: *was it a hard situation to accept*) to prompt the interviewee to elaborate on the topic (cf. O'Keeffe [2006, 46], who summarises the research on [the lack of] responses in broadcast news interviews). In fact, journalistic interviews conducted for a JA possess numerous characteristics of mutuality and equality that have traditionally been associated with everyday conversations (see Heritage 1998, 7). Naturally, one must consider that the equality between the journalist and the interviewee as partners in the interaction is maintained within the interview situation itself. At a macro-level, however, the journalist, together with other editorial staff—excluding the interviewees—are the ones who have the control over selecting the subject matter under consideration, arranging the interview situation, and deciding the exploitation of the interview as a raw material for a journalistic output.[7]

Within the institutional context described above, monologisation refers to a particular aspect of making quotations for the article in which the journalist predominantly eliminates the role that he or she had in the co-adaptive interview interaction. Thus, monologisation makes the direct quotations appear as though they were originally unprompted and continuous utterances by the interviewee, and this outcome can modify and even distort the original meaning of the quoted discourse and also result in the reader's severe misapprehension of the statements assigned to the interviewee, as we saw especially in the previous section.[8]

As this paper has shown, purpose-oriented simplification of the interaction is, on the one hand, an effective means for controlling, steering, and even distorting the message of the interviewee, and on the other hand, a means for incorporating the journalist's subjective points of view in the article without breaking the "ideological rule" that journalism must disseminate impartial knowledge and separate facts from opinions (Van Dijk 1991, 192). At the same time, monologisation is an important part in the performance of journalistic professionalism: for example, Eriksson and Östman (2013, 319–321) have demonstrated that journalists' co-operativeness towards political actors within the interactional phase (= interviewing) often changes into adversarialness within the news-construction phase (= writing). They draw the conclusion that while it makes sense for journalists "to seek information more than confrontation" (319) when interacting with their politician sources, the adversarial stance adopted in publicly accessible phases of the news production, in turn, indicates to the audience the journalists' commitment to their highly ranked ideal of watchdog-role (see also Reich 2006). Since monologisation is not an axiomatic process but consists of a series of deliberate decision-makings, its situation-dependent practices and goals need further research and also call for an ethical consideration of journalistic practices.

Finally, the notion of monologisation is essential also from the readers' perspective: readers who are not provided with solid and unambiguous information regarding the original interactional co-text and context are unable to interpret the quotation so that they understand what the quoted discourse essentially meant in the interview. Also since I argue that a question of the truthfulness of quotations and journalism in general is—to a great extent—a question of the transparency of the principles of work practices, to become aware of monologisation as a fundamental journalistic practice is the key to a critical reading of the media of our time.

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NOTES

1. Outside media studies, a somewhat similar phenomenon has been discussed, especially in connection with police interrogations (see e.g. Jönsson and Linell 1991; Komter 2006; Van Charldorp 2014), but also in contexts such as parliament records (Slembrouck 1992) and therapy (Ravotas and Berkenkotter 1998).

2. It is worth pointing out that within all the literature concerning press conferences, news interviews, and television news sound bites, the greatest attention thus far has been devoted to interviews dealing with politics (e.g. Ekström and Patrona 2011, 1). As Montgomery (2007, 147) has noted, the whole genre and practice of news interviews have been defined by "one sub-type", although its primacy "is neither supported by the history of the journalistic interview nor justified by a survey of current broadcasting practice".
3. "Gathering" is, of course, a simplifying conceptualisation. As Nylund (2011, 488) has argued, a "[journalistic] interview is more about generating and constructing knowledge, rather than simply gaining or collecting it".
4. The inconsistency between the number of recordings and the number of articles results from the fact that there are two journalists in the data-set who wrote an article on the same press conference.
5. A video recording might reveal possible non-verbal communication by the journalist. However, videotaping would have undesirably influenced the interview, and was therefore not included in my data collection.
6. In fact, the "Midsummer 1994" issue is also discussed in the interview, but approximately five minutes earlier than the section transcribed above.
7. It has been argued that these fundamental decisions are influenced by factors such as the publishers' ideological values and purposes, the financial basis of the publication, the needs and interests of the audience, and, on a grander scale, the current journalistic culture and the societal context in which publishing takes place in general (Haapanen, forthcoming a; Helle 2010; Kang 2007; Kuo 2007).
8. I have also demonstrated elsewhere that besides quotations, a substantial part of other text material in journalistic articles is often based on information that has been abstracted from an interviewee. When this occurs, the monologisation practice can actually be conceived of as occurring the other way round: now the interview's interactive turn exchange is presented merely as the *journalist's* independent text without attribution to its co-adaptive origin (Haapanen 2016). However, this procedure is outside the scope of this article.

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Appendix A

Examples 1B, 2B, and 3B in Their Original Finnish Form

Example 1B: "Dancer" (journalistic interview versus published article).

Journalistic interview (transcript)	Published article (excerpt)
JOurnalist: tätä mul ei ollu nois kysymyksissä mut mut mä tajusin et mä oon pohtinu tätä koko sen ajan kun mä oon katsonut sun (.) tai tutkinut niinku (.) just näit teoksia ja tätä et et tota (.) kun nää on niin jotenki (.) tosi yleisiä (.) semmosii niinku ih- ihmisen kokosia ja semmosii aika semmosii niinku jotenki (.) tietyl taval universaaleja nää teemat **INterviewee**: joo? **JO**: niin tota nii ää **JO**: onko sulla rooleja näyttämöllä vai vai o- oletko se sinä joka ikäänku niinku sitte (.) performoi asioita (.) **JO**: emmä tiiä osaak- osaaks mä selittää [tätä **IN**: [joo **JO**: kauheen hyvin **IN**: joo mä ymmärrän oikein- (.) **IN**: no mun tää estetiikka jos vois näin sanoa **JO**: mm **IN**: tai tai tai lähestymistapa tai ajattelu **JO**: mm **IN**: täs taiteessani niin on nimenomaan (.) niinku **JO**: mm **IN**: s- sitä kohti menny ihan aina että ei ole rooleja	Mutta mistä esitys kertoo konkreettisesti? Ketä Korhonen esittää lavalla? "Mun lähestymistapa on sitä kohti mennyt aina, että ei ole roolia."

Example 2B: "Feedback" (journalistic interview versus published article).

Journalistic interview (transcript)	Published article (excerpt)
JO: Millä tavalla asiakkaat sitten suhtautuvat tähän palautteeseen tai minkälaisin odotuksin he tänne tulevat **IN**: no joillakin tu- jotkut odottavat vähän liikaa että me ohjaisimme (.) että me lukisimme jonkun valtavan pitkän tekstin kokonaan ja (.) neuvoisimme miten se kustannetaan (.) me kuitenkin luemme pikemminkin lyhyen (.) lyhyen otteen tekstistä ja annamme siitä arvion **JO**: Mikä on lyhyt (.) tässä tapauksessa **IN**: no eräästä (.) yli satasivuisesta tekstistä luin kolkytsivua (.) ja sitten (.) selasin sen läpi ja luin muutaman kiinnostavan otsikon (.) tai mu- muutaman kiinnostavasti otsikoidun kappaleen en tietenkään pelkkiä otsikoita	Ihmiset odottavat Nummisen mukaan arviointipalvelulta vähän liikaakin eli käytännössä pitäisi lukea pitkä teksti ja antaa konkreettiset neuvot siitä, miten sen saa kustannettavaksi. "Jos arvioitavana on sata sivua tekstiä, luen siitä noin 30 sivua ja lisäksi katkelmia kiinnostavimpien otsikoiden alta."

Example 3B: "Engineer" (journalistic interview versus published article).

Journalistic interview (transcript)	Published article (excerpt)
IN: mä olin niin hyvi (.) mä voi sanota että mä oo diplomainsinööri ja kaikki (.) koulutus ja ura ja aika huipula kiinasa silloin **JO**: nii	Juhannusaattona 1994 elämä muuttui täysin, kun Wang saapui miehensä mukana autioon Helsinkiin. "Kiinassa olin menestyvä diplomi-insinööri, täällä en ollut mitään. Sitä oli vaikea hyväksyä."
IN: mut ku mä tulin tänne mä oo (.) nolla (.) **JO**: oli[ks se vaikee tilanne [hyväksyä joo **IN**: [jos ei osanu- [oli oli **JO**: joo	